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Intercultural Bilingual Education, Indigenous Knowledge and the Construction of Ethnic Identity: An ethnography of a Mapuche School in Chile

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Intercultural Bilingual Education, Indigenous Knowledge and the Construction of Ethnic Identity: An ethnography of a Mapuche School in Chile

by

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Dissertation

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Dedication

To the Mapuche people who shared generously with me their vision of the world

and to the love and patience of my family who supported me in this project.

Acknowledgments

There are so many people to whom I should express my sincere gratitude for enabling me to complete this work that I require far more space than what I have here. I will be able to mention only a few of them, but my sincere thanks go to all. Beginning with my dissertation committee, I would like to acknowledge the support of the professors who provided the academic foundations for my work. Thanks to Dr. Douglas Foley, Director of the Program of Cultural Studies in Education at the University of Texas at Austin, who as my primary supervisor, patiently guided my doctoral studies and dissertation work. Thanks also to professors Angela Valenzuela, Martha Menchaca, Sofia Villenas, Debora Palmer and Joel Dworin who as committee members also provided their invaluble insights during my dissertation work.

Warm appreciation must also be given to all the Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in Chile who in so many ways enabled my fieldwork to become possible. How can I thank Isabel Hernández from the UN/CEPAL in Santiago and Guillermo Williamson and María Díaz-Coliñir from the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, for their wonderful friendship and irreplaceable insight and guidance during my fieldwork in Chile. How can I thank the people in the Mapuche-Lafkenche community of Conoco-Piedra Alta in Lake Budi enough, who opened the doors of their homes and hearts to me and my research and with whom I shared their daily lives for months? Raul Painemilla and his wife María Antileo and their five children, Issac, Mabel, Milton, Patricio and Camila who generously shared their home with me; all have a special place in my heart. My thanks also to the Mapuche community and educational leaders in Piedra Alta: Sergio Painemilla, Cornelio Painemilla, Rául Millao, Carlos Paillán and the state Coordinators for EIB programs in Cautín, Fresia Manquilef and Ignacio Cayuleo, who were key people enabling my work in Piedra Alta.

How can I thank the teachers in the Piedra Alta school, Andrés Hernández, Patricio Gonzaléz, Michelle Vallejo and Hector Muñoz, who generously opened the doors of their classrooms as well as their homes to allow a long time ex-patriate

Chilean living for many years in foreign lands, to become again part of the Chilean family of educators? This dissertation work would not have been possible without their trust and generous support.

How can I thank enough the teachings of the inspiring force behind the silent strength and resilience of the Mapuche people who have been struggling for centuries for a dignified space for their culture and language, so that it will remain as a precious gift to their coming generations? I just hope that my work contributes in some way to their noble cause. For me, it was a refreshing privilege to encounter the spirit of the Mapuche people *(the People of the Land)* still alive in the Araucanía today.

I honestly think that Occidental Modernity and its obsession with consumerism and the greedy accumulation of capital by the few is destroying the earth and many cultures in it at an unprecedented rate. It could learn much from the Mapuche way of viewing the world. I think it would be a terrible loss for all, if this culture, language and noble people someday disappear, something that (considering the direction in which things are going now) may be very possible.

Finally, I would like to thank my late parents, Enrique and Olga, for their long-term inspiration and support in pursuing my intellectual endeavors. Also I thank, my siblings Enrique and Marcela for their intelligent insights and support through their encouraging senses of humor and my wife Victoria and my children, Rodrigo, Mikhail and Sofía for their support and patience during my long absences in the field, in the library or behind a computer monitor at home.

Life for me has been a remarkable voyage for which I am very thankful, for the extraordinary opportunities that I have been given. This dissertation work has been another important and interesting port of call along the route. To everyone who has helped me become who I am and do the things that I value, thank you very much for your support. I hope my contribution is of value.

Intercultural Bilingual Education, Indigenous Knowledge and the Construction of Ethnic Identity: An ethnography of a Mapuche School in Chile

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Supervisor: Douglas Foley

The purpose of this research was to explore and understand the current development of an Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program in a rural *Mapuche-Lafkenche* community (reservation) school in the south of Chile, and especially its impact on ethnic identity construction processes among its indigenous students. By using an ethnographic field research method and a cultural studies theoretical framework, I intended my work to explore the processes of recovery of *Mapuche* ancestral knowledge *(Kimün)* and its incorporation into the school IBE program, through indigenous traditional community educators *(Kimches),* hired as teachers.

I gave special attention to the *Kimches'* role, which, by linking the indigenous knowledge, culture and *Mapudungún* language of the community with the school, created culturally-relevant instructional environments in the IBE classrooms, while simultaneously developing spaces for resistance and cultural production through counter-hegemonic narratives to the official knowledge of the school, thus enabling a space in the classroom for the emergence and validation of *Mapuche* students' identities as hybrid and negotiated constructs blending their *Mapuche*, Chilean and Global persona.

This work also explores the main issues concerning the school's community within the larger historical and socio-political context of the *Mapuche* people in Chile

and their interactions with the two main social agents historically involved in indigenous education: the State and the Church. Important consideration was given to place current IBE programs in the context of today's cultural and linguistic revitalization projects which move parallel to demands for land rights, political autonomy and nationhood proposed by *Mapuche* political and intellectual leaders.

Finally, I explored the complex variables and issues both within and without the *Mapuche* communities, which oppose and make difficult the development of IBE programs in schools.

Being a Chilean by birth, but not *Mapuche*, I gave important consideration to the complexities of the construction and politics of representation of the *"Indigenous Other."*

This story is, in many ways, another complex story of the resistance and resilience of indigenous people in Latin America, and their long struggle for cultural and linguistic rights.

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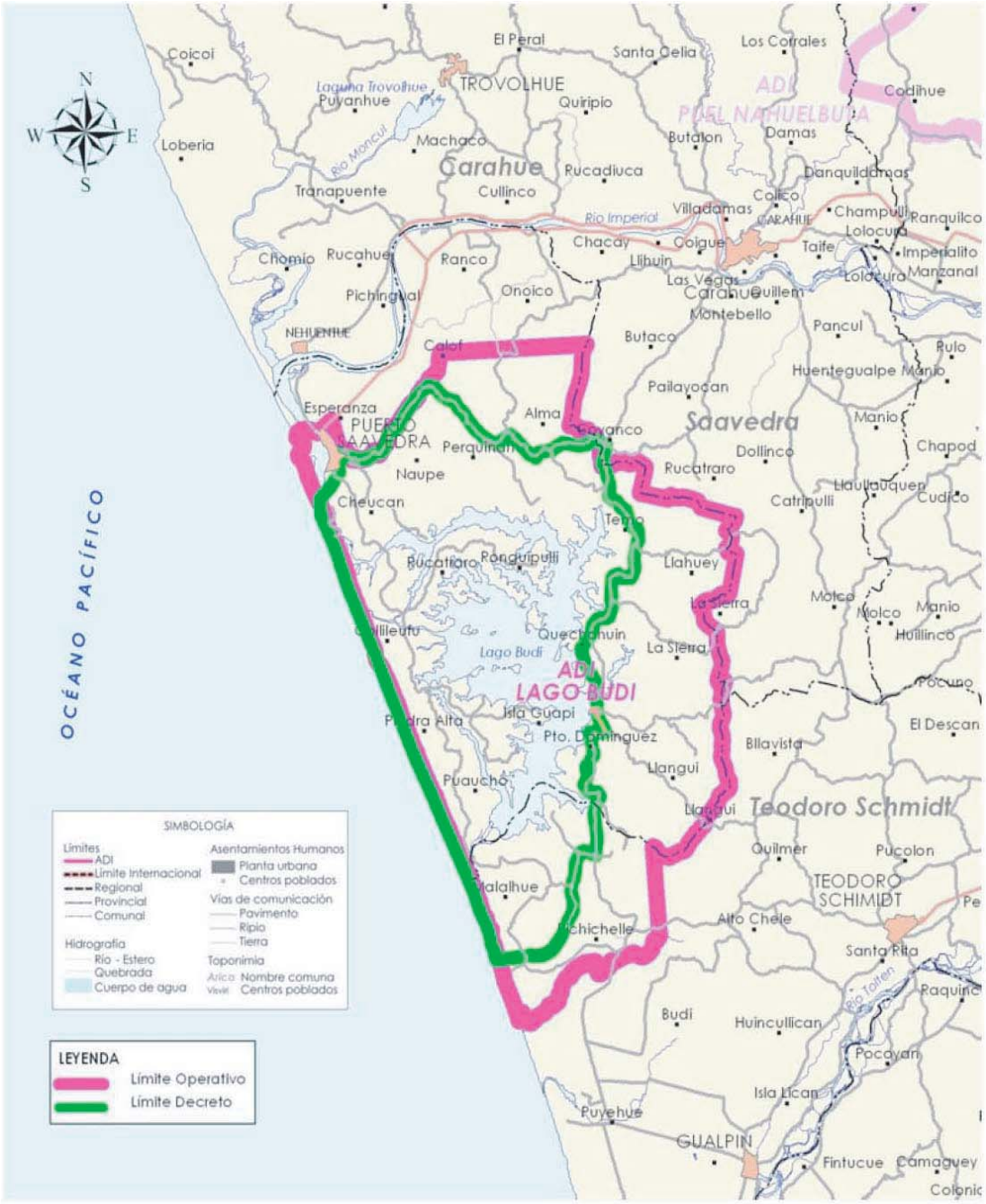
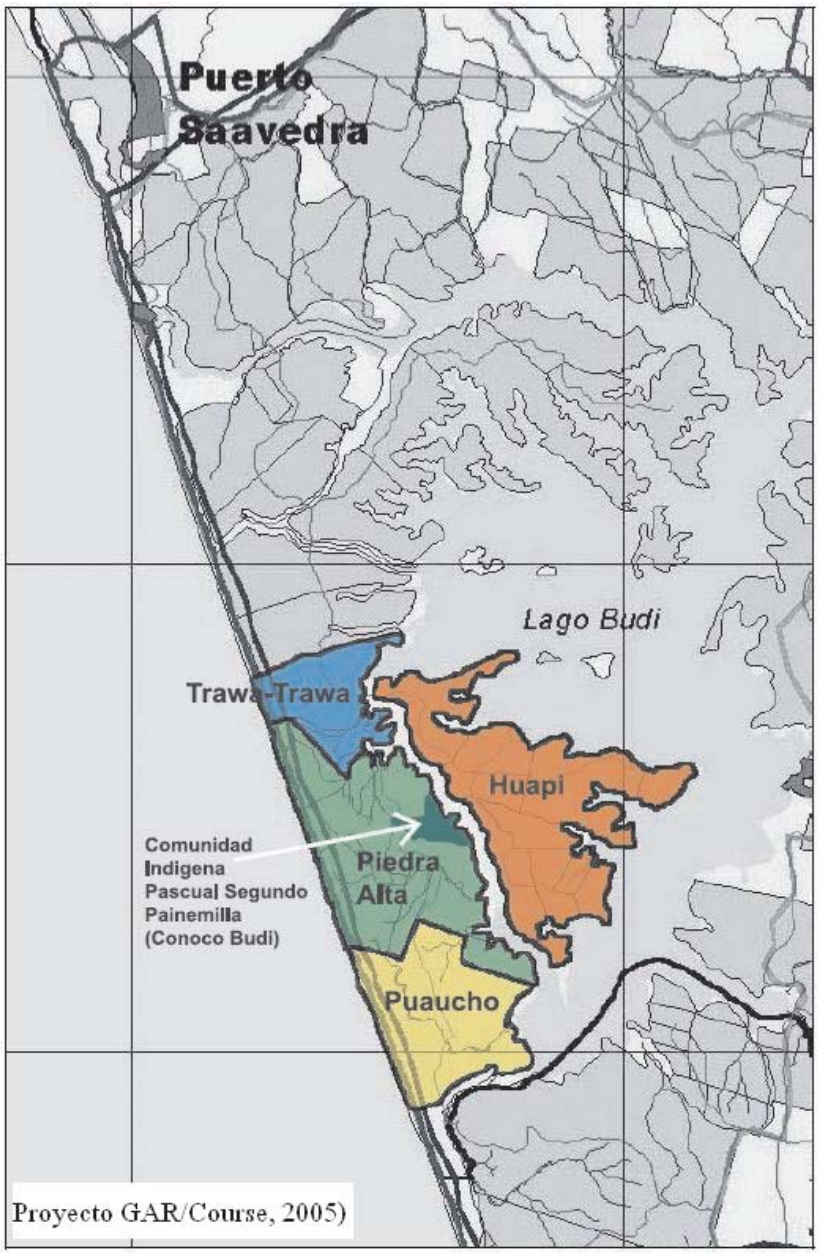
Map. 1. Location of research site:
Comunidad Mapuche Lafkenche "Piedra Alta", in Area de Desarrollo Indígena Lago Budi, región of the Araucanía (IX Región, Chile).



Area de Desarrollo Indígena del Lago Budi **(Map 2)**


Puerto
Saavedra
Lago Budi
Trawa-Trawa
Huapi
Comunidad
Indigena
Pascual Segundo
Painemilla
(Conoco Budi)
Piedra
Alta
Puaucho
Proyecto GAR/Course, 2005)

(Map 3)

Chapter 1

Introduction

In front of his multi-grade classroom, *Kimche* (1) Sergio Painemilla, a teacher in the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program of the school of Piedra Alta, would have looked like any teacher around the world trying to establish order among a chaotic group of elementary school children at the ringing of the initial bell of classes: "Son, sit down and keep quiet!, Daughter, stop talking!, Silence all, we need to begin!"

Dressed in a dignified mixture of campesino and a rural school teacher, the couple of books he always carried in his hands when at school added to *Don Sergio* the debonair of an organic Mapuche critical intellectual of the best sort. His witty sense of humor and bright-eyed full-faced-smile after cracking a joke revealed the vivacious mind of a wise and well-read man with a clear sense of the history and place of his people. A vision inherited through many years of oral histories coming through a long line of ancestors linking him directly to the initial founder of this *Mapuche-Lafkenche* community of Piedra Alta, in the Lake Budi region in the south of Chile.

The classroom setting in which I would observe some very innovative practices in the IBE program in the school of Piedra Alta was that of many poor rural schools serving indigenous populations in Chile and throughout Latin America. All symbolic representations in it (flags, posters, decorations, etc) would be reaffirming the symbols of the republican nation-state and almost none the indigenous traditions of the children in them. But this situation of silent cultural exclusion would change every day has *Don Sergio* began the lecture about the next coming *Nguillatún*(2) or other local indigenous celebrations and practices and linked them with the ancestral Mapuche indigenous knowledge and cosmology *Kimün (3)* as he code-switched back-and-forth from *Mapudungún* (4) to the Spanish language, constructing with this, an alternative oral counter-narrative of the Mapuche cultural and linguistic experience for his students to

reflect upon. It was at that point that I realized the value and the uniqueness of a situation in which a *Kimche*, as a teacher, by centering his classroom instruction in the indigenous knowledge, language and ritual practices of his ancestral community, could enable many of his students to begin to (re)define their ethnic identities and what it meant for each of them to be an indigenous person today. I use the words "many students" as opposed to "all students", because the resistance to his ideas and to what he represents in the classroom exist not only, as expected, from outside of the Mapuche community where the educational powers who have historically defined in Chile what indigenous education should be (The State and the Church), but surprisingly also from within the Mapuche community itself, where sectors of the grassroots Mapuche oppose IBE. Adding with, this a very complex and unexpected contradictory dimension, defining in many ways what IBE programs are becoming in the Mapuche context in Chile today.

1.a. Focus of this study

This work is an ethnographic study of an IBE program in a rural indigenous school, located within a *Mapuche-Lafkenche* community in the Lake Budi area, on the Pacific coast of southern Chile (Map 2). My observation focused on how the native organic intellectuals *(Kimches)* from the Mapuche community, who have been hired as teachers in the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program of the *Escuela Básica* de Piedra Alta (5), are able to create culturally meaningful instructional environments in the classroom by validating the ancestral indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* and native language *(Mapudungún)* of their communities. It includes how this approach brings community knowledge into the classroom through an oral counter-hegemonic narrative and converts the *Kimche* into a social agent of change by enabling the students to become involved in a critical (re)construction process, through agency, resistance and

negotiation of their ethnic identities as a hybrid construct between their Mapuche, Chilean and Global persona.

1.b. The complex socio-political and cultural context of IBE programs in Chile today

In Latin America today, including Chile, important sectors of the indigenous people are searching for ways to maintain their identities and defend their rights in a period of intense encroachment by national societies. The current approaches to IBE have been presented as means of defense against oppressive colonization, through validation of indigenous knowledge, language, cultural community practices and through the enhancement of indigenous peoples' full and free participation in the wider society (Williamson, 2004).

After five centuries of attempts by colonial and republican governments either to eliminate or simply to ignore the indigenous people of Latin America, much of the 20th century has witnessed policies aimed at their eradication through integration and assimilation into the nation-states around them (Bengoa, 2000). It is only in the last two decades that Latin American governments have been moving in the direction of recognizing cultural and linguistic diversity as a positive national characteristic worth maintaining. As part of this wider move towards cultural pluralism, there has been an increasing awareness of the need to promote IBE programs in schools, particularly in countries with large indigenous populations, such as Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador Guatemala, Mexico and Peru (Chiodi, 1990). Indigenous education through IBE programs has become the hallmark of multicultural societies in Latin America and a basic component to maintain and develop, in schools the identity of indigenous communities and to avoid their destruction and cultural extinction (Citarella, 1990; Aikman, 1999).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, indigenous people have been lobbying at the local, regional and international levels for the recognition of rights to their land and way of life and, with this, an important socio-political movement called the *Indigenous Emergence in Latin America* has began to surface at a continental level (Bengoa, 2000; Stavenhagen, 1997). Good example of the changing role of indigenous people from passive to proactive agents of social change (Stavenhagen, 1997), have been seen in the UN declaration of the Decade of the Indigenous People and the proposal of the UN Indigenous Human Rights declaration in 1992, in the political mass mobilizations of indigenous groups in Ecuador in 1993 which almost paralyzed that country and ended in the election of an indigenous Vice-President, in the political uprisings in Chiapas (Mexico) since 1994 and in the recent presidential elections in Bolivia in 2005, where an indigenous leader was elected by a landslide to the presidency of that country. These highly interconnected events show a defining political moment in the current indigenous movement throughout the continent (Hernández, 2003).

But the indigenous movement has had very different dynamics in different countries. Chile and Argentina (both countries in which the Mapuche people live), which have very low percentages of Native American populations, have seen a very different situation than that of countries in which Native American populations are a considerable demographic factor. In fact, one of the main frustrations of the Mapuche people of Chile, including its intellectual and political leadership, has been the minimal amount of change in their state of affairs and in the acceptance of their proposals for recognition of nationhood, political autonomy and cultural and linguistic rights that the mainstream political system has allowed them to have. The indigenous situation in Chile although it has changed in many ways compared to what it was during the military dictatorship (1973-1990) has not really changed as much as had been expected. I important political tensions and conflicts remain between the Chilean state and the indigenous populations today.

The Mapuche people of Chile, although representing an 83.5% of the Native American population of that country (692,192 habitants) is only a 2.5 % (604,349 habitants) of the total population of the country (15,047,652 habitants) (INA-Mideplan 2002). This major demographic disadvantage has translated into little political power for this ethnic group within the national panorama, nevertheless their high visibility in the urban media.

Although, in the Latin American context, Chile is currently considered an example of the success of a free-market, neo-liberal economy based on economic policies of privatization and globalization, there has been very little done in terms of recognition and strengthening of civil and political rights for its indigenous peoples, especially related to their cultural, linguistic and territorial rights (Namuncura, 2001). A 1996 report from the Program for Development of the United Nations (PNUD) indicated that after Brazil, Chile has the worst social distribution of wealth in Latin America, with 10% of the highest income earners getting 22 times more than the lowest (Leiva, 1996).

Reaffirming these statements, recent reports from the World Bank established that the living standards of the indigenous populations in Latin America are consistently far below the non-Native American ones. This includes some "abysmal" standards of poverty to be found in the areas of health and education (Psacharopoulos and Patrino, 1994, 1999). Chile is not an exception to this rule and the asymmetric relations of power between the dominant culture and the Mapuche people refers not only to culture and language but also to the standards of health, education and income (Williamson, 2005).

In Chile there are current efforts to turn around this situation, but implementing IBE programs in rural schools with high indigenous populations has not been an easy task. As mentioned before, the opposition to these programs has come not only from the social agents historically involved with indigenous education (such as the State and the Church) but also from sectors within the Mapuche communities themselves.

Groups within the Mapuche communities, especially those affiliated to highly assimilated and Evangelical groups, who see IBE programs as not providing their children with the skills for social mobility that they will need in the mainstream society to which they will be forced to migrate, due to the lack of economic and educational opportunities available to young people in their ancestral communities (Painemilla, 2003; Díaz-Coliñir, 2002). It is important to note that schools in the Mapuche communities do not have grades beyond 8th, so children are forced to go to schools out of their communities in order to continue to high school. Currently 80% of the Mapuche people have already migrated to the 5 main Chilean cities (INE, 2002). Places where due to the lack of educational credentials, they are forced into the lowest paying jobs in service industries (Saavedra, 2002).

If there is a clear consensus in defining as "very complex" the historical relationship between the Mapuche people, the Chilean state and the *Winkas* (outsiders) (6) in general, it is also fair to say that there is also a very wide consensus in defining as "very complex" the relations among the Mapuche people themselves. Inter-ethnic relations among the Mapuche have historically been marked by complex sub-divisions in four major geographical and cultural groups, seven major dialectical zones in which the *Mapudungún* language has been transcribed and written through 4 different alphabets. Plus the existence of approximately 3,000 lineage-based distinct rural communities, spread across the region of the Araucanía, often having very different political stands among them. It is fair to say that the region of the Araucanía is also one of the most complex political areas of the country.

So, IBE programs in the Mapuche context in Chile exist within complex socio-cultural and political panoramas, and experience the pressure of forces against and in favor of them, both from without and within the Mapuche communities that sustain them. Studying them was certainly a challenge for this researcher, not only because of the complex role of the institutions which have historically define them, but also the need to consider the particular attitudes that different Mapuche communities, families

and individuals in different geographical regions have in relation to them. The case of the IBE program of the school of Piedra Alta is not an exception to this rule nor to the dynamic of conflict and it has a good share of both supporters and detractors from within and without the Mapuche communities, where it is located.

1.c. Research Questions

The main research questions addressed by this work are:

What are the implications for effective learning when an Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program in a rural school within a Mapuche community in the south of Chile incorporates Mapuche organic intellectuals (Kimches) as teachers in the program, Mapuche indigenous knowledge (Kimün) and the Mapuche language (Mapudungún) as its main bodies of knowledge for classroom instruction? How does this instructional practice link classroom instruction with community practices creating culturally relevant learning environments and how does it have an impact in the processes of ethnic identity construction of its students?

From these main questions, another four sub-questions are developed:

1. Which is the basis of traditional Mapuche epistemology and pedagogy?
At this point I focus my study in the social spaces and mechanisms of traditional Mapuche knowledge construction (*Kimün*) at its material and symbolic levels of production. When addressing the question of Mapuche traditional education, I focused my study on the traditional agents and instances of knowledge transmission within the Mapuche private and public spheres *(family and community).*

2. What are the current ways in which *Kimün* as Mapuche indigenous knowledge and *Mapudungún* as the ancestral Mapuche language is used in the IBE program of a

rural school and how are they incorporated into the curriculum, textbooks and school practices?

3. Focusing on the *Kimche's (Mapuche traditional scholars)* role as an instructor in the IBE school program, how does he or she become a main link between the Mapuche indigenous knowledge of the community and the official knowledge of the school? How does his or her voice and the counter-hegemonic narrative that he or she develops bring into the classroom a space for an alternative historical oral reconstruction which has an impact in the students identity construction processes?

4. How do students themselves construct their Mapuche identities within the spaces of structure and agency in the school, and how do the processes of cultural production through negotiation, resistance, appropriation and adaptation take place in the shifting alliances between their Mapuche, Chilean and Global youth identities, living under an intense assimilationist mainstream Chilean culture?

1.d. Conceptual frameworks and research design

This story about an IBE program in the Mapuche context in southern Chile is mainly a reflective dialogue between me, as a Chilean non-Mapuche educator, with Mapuche educators, Mapuche students and the Mapuche and non-Mapuche people whom I encountered during my fieldwork from 2002 to 2004 and from which I intended to construct a meaningful narrative.

My field observations are framed in the larger theoretical and interdisciplinary frameworks of Cultural Studies in Education, particularly in the study of asymmetric relations of power and counter-hegemonic narratives (Giroux & McLaren, 1996; Trueba, 2000) and Post-Structural approaches to education as reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Freire, 1993). They also embrace Latin American post-colonial theory and the role of the indigenous "other" (Quijano, 1995; Dussell, 1995), the study

of cultural and linguistic zones of contact as hybrid and negotiated "Third Spaces" (Bhabha, 1994; García-Canclini, 1995) and identity and agency (Holland et al., 1998) as a dynamic process of Cultural Production (Levinson, Holland and Foley, 1996) to be seen in students narratives as samples of self-expression (Suarez-Orozco, 2000; Vila, 2000) and in the counter-hegemonic narratives of the *Kimches* as school instructors.

I grounded this theoretical framework in a critical and reflexive ethnographic method of data collection (Foley, 2001; Rabinow, 1977) based on participant-observation, open-ended interviews, and conversations with key informants, establishing collaborative and friendly relations with those studied (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The reflective part of this dialogue came at the point of acknowledging the complexities of the construction and the politics of the representation of the *"Indigenous Other"* by someone who in my case is a Chilean but not an indigenous person, and who, by definition and life experience, is an outsider to that indigenous community. Someone, who although in the US is considered a minority, within the Mapuche context of Chile is perceived to be a privileged as part of the Chilean mainstream dominant group and having a privileged status as a doctoral student in the US.

In my work I used transcripts of approximately 50 hours of recorded and filmed interviews, conversations, oral histories and observation of classroom practices in the IBE program of the school of Piedra Alta and in different cultural events in the same community. I interviewed teachers, parents, students, communal authorities, university professors, and political leaders in relation to IBE programs in the Mapuche context, and specifically in Piedra Alta. The interviews were open-ended and informal and with few exceptions, they were conducted in the Spanish language. I complemented this with library research, field notes and the gathering of other printed and video materials which I collected during my field work, which took place at different points in time from 2002 to 2004, in the school of Piedra Alta in the south of

Chile, and in the cities of Temuco and Santiago. During my field work, I lived approximately 6 months with a Mapuche family (both parents and five children) in the community of Piedra Alta, near the school, and another 6 months in the cities of Santiago and Temuco, doing bibliographic research in universities, research centers, development organizations, NGO's and networking to enable my work in the field.

1.e. Purpose and organization of the study

I hope this study will contribute to educational theory in IBE program development and Mapuche ethnography by presenting an alternative educational model in which indigenous teachers *(Kimches)* hired as instructors in an IBE program, incorporate as the main body of learning in their classes the indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* and language *(Mapudungún)* of the indigenous community in which the school is located. This is a model which brings into the classroom the social and cultural capital of the community and becomes, with this, an effective and culturally relevant instructional program (Ladson-Billings, 1995). It has a positive impact in the students' self-esteem, ethnic identity construction processes and in the cultural and linguistic recovery of the community (Williamson, 2005; Díaz-Coliñir, 1999).

In a wider context, this work also illustrates how bilingual intercultural education programs, besides been spaces for literacy in two languages and two cultures, are also complex and hybrid socio-cultural and political, negotiated third spaces (Bahbah, 1994) which have the potential to enable the emergence of voices from historically under-represented groups (Trueba, 2000). How these programs are directly related to issues of decolonization, asymmetric relations of power, which require transformative pedagogical practices, and only become sustainable through the support of the communities and the people they serve (López, 1995). Finally, I intend to illustrate how these educational models, which besides creating sound instructional

environments have also an important relation with issues of equity and social justice (Citarella, 1990; López, 1995; Williamson, 2005).

The researcher's personal position

Although the Mapuche culture and language has been a long-standing interest of mine, since an early age, and I feel connected to the subject matter in more ways than one, I do not consider myself to be a bilingual educator focusing his research exclusively on indigenous affairs. In this sense, I do not consider myself as a specialist in indigenous education. Far from it, this is an area in which I need to learn considerably more. Nevertheless, I have chosen to study the processes of IBE in a Native American community, case in point, the Mapuche of Chile. It is within the socio-cultural space of languages and cultures in contact between Native Americans and European-based cultures, where all contradiction, ambiguities, tensions and asymmetric relations of power between a dominant and a subordinated culture are to be found in its most clear and obvious expression. I think that it is within the cultural space where modernity and its neo-liberal, post-colonial ideology meets the traditional Native American culture where very little doubt is left about the abysmal cultural differences and the processes of cultural production (through negotiation, resistance, adaptation, appropriation and hybridity) that results from the contact between two radically different worlds. I think that the cultural intermediate and negotiated Third Space (Bhabha, 1994) - which is IBE by definition - is to be seen in its most clear expression in a school and a classroom in which a Native American culture meets a Modern European-based culture, such as the Mapuche and the Chilean in the school of Piedra Alta.

Although Mapuche, in general, are not open and receptive to non-Mapuche doing field research in their communities, for me doing my study and living in a community among the Mapuche in Chile was not an experience where I had to

confront a totally different cultural environment (such as, for example, my previous experience of living in rural Haiti). As a Chilean, I never felt great gap between the current Mapuche culture and mine. Despite, the difficulties created by the political context and tensions between the Chilean state and the Mapuche leadership (which has never been an easy one), I made valuable and lasting friendships among teachers, *Kimches* and community members in Piedra Alta.

During my fieldwork, I was also continuously surprised how I could find commonalities of personal experience with most of the Mapuche people with whom I was interacting, in regards with their personal lives going back and forth between two cultural and linguistic worlds. My experience as an immigrant in the US, living in a second culture and language many times alien and hegemonic to me, the subordinate position of a “minority” and the multiple positionings, identities and alliances that I have developed through my time as an immigrant in the US, gave me very important insights into many of the emotional and intellectual processes lived by the Mapuche people participanting in my study. I think this common experience of living in-between-cultural-worlds allowed me to develop a natural and spontaneous bond with many Mapuche people that I met, and which could be reflected in the words of *Kimche* Sergio Painemilla when he introduced me to other Mapuche people in the community of Piedra Alta as a "*Winka*-Chileno, but not like the ones that live here".

The narrative of this dissertation is organized in the following way:

Chapter Two gives the reader an idea of the historical context of the current situation of the Mapuche people in Chile. It begins by addressing the current issues of population, geographical spaces and the diasporic migrations to the cities in which 80% of the Mapuche population live today. It continues explaining, in historical terms, the relationship of the Mapuche and the Chilean state since early colonization, through the formation of the nation-state to the current Mapuche political position within the

Indigenous Emergence. This chapter ends with an overview of indigenous education in Chile, including the role of the two main educational agents, the Church and the State, which have had an important say in the formal schooling of the Mapuche people.

Chapter three portrays in more detail the Area of Indigenous Development of Lake Budi and the community in which the school of Piedra Alta is located. It looks more closely at the communities of Piedra Alta in terms of their traditional and current administrative organization, patterns of migration, religion, traditional education and socialization of indigenous children. It describes in more detail how ideology and levels of assimilation of Mapuche rural families and communities have had an impact on re-ethnification processes as proposed by the current Mapuche urban leadership.

Chapter four addresses more specific issues of IBE programs in Chile. It refers to the context of the historical Mapuche demands for education and to the situation of current IBE programs in Chile, within the current educational reforms. It also refers to the current levels of education of the Mapuche people and how IBE programs are a contested issue within many Mapuche communities.

Chapter five explores what *Kimün* (Mapuche indigenous knowledge) is and how it relates with Mapuche traditional forms of education which are socially constructed in the community. It focuses on how its holistic approach, including cosmology, language and traditional forms of community celebrations are also forms of traditional Mapuche pedagogy and forms of social and cultural capital which through exchanges of reciprocity bond this indigenous community in mutual relations of trust. The last part of the chapter places *Kimün* and the *Mapudungún* language as the central body of knowledge in the IBE program in the school of Piedra Alta, adding with this a key component linking the school with community knowledge and creating intrinsically meaningful classroom instruction.

Chapter six is a more detailed ethnographic account of classroom observation in the IBE program of Piedra Alta, in which *Kimches*, by using Mapuche indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)*, are able to create counter-hegemonic narratives as a process of

"Concientización" (Freire, 1985). This challenges the traditional hegemonic (subtractive) schooling process (Valenzuela, 2000) and the traditional assimilationist role of the school in relation to indigenous people and creates a reflective space in which the Mapuche students become critically involved in new (re)formulations of their ethnic identity as part of a process of negotiated, hybrid and multiple identity construction, between their ancestral Mapuche background, the mainstream Chilean culture part of the school and the culture of the Global market that arrives to their lives through the media and the digital format.

Chapter seven includes the conclusions of the findings of this work.

Chapter 2:

Asymmetric relations of power: the Mapuche people, Spanish colonialism and the Chilean state

2.1. The Mapuche people of Chile: a long story of resistance

2.1.a. Population and geographical spaces today

According to the 2002 census, from a total of 15,047,652 habitants in Chile, the indigenous population amounts to 692,192, representing 4.7% of the total population of the country (INE-CELADE, 2002). According to this measurement, the Mapuche people amounts to 604.349 habitants (1), and constitutes the largest Native American group in Chile, with 83.5% of the total indigenous population. Nevertheless, it represents only a 2.5% of the total amount of the Chilean population (Hernández, 2003; INE-CELADE, 2002).

The rest of the indigenous non-Mapuche population of Chile, amounts to a 2.2 % of the total country's population (INE-CELADE, 2002), and is divided among seven different indigenous groups; Alakalufe-Kawashkar, Atacameño, Aymara, Colla, Quechua, Rapa-Nui and Yamana-Yagán, all located in different parts of the country.

Although the ancestral area of the Mapuche people is currently considered to be the Araucanía between the rivers *Bío-Bío* and *Toltén* (see map 4), the original Pre-Columbian Mapuche territory was a far larger one and went from its northern border on the Maule river in the central part of the country to the southern island of Chiloe. The definition of the current territorial borders of the Mapucheland has been a long and on-going historical process of reduction, since the first early Spanish colonial contact, in the mid-16th century.

In this process of constant reduction, the Mapuche map has been reconfigured in important ways at two main historical junctures: the early Spanish wars of colonial expansion in the XVII century and the early consolidation of the Chilean nation-state as a dominant power after the war of the *Pacificación de la Araucanía* in 1881. After this the Mapuche were placed in the system of reservations *(Reducciones)*(2) and the Chilean state established its dominance over the ancestral territories of the Mapuche people in the Araucanía.

According to the historical documentation on the *Mapuche* people of Chile (*Mapu*-land, *Che*-people), four cultural groups existed historically within this Native American group (Bengoa, 2000; Faron, 1968; Grebe, 1998). These four groups were geographically positioned in their ancestral territories, according the four cardinal points, including the *Picunches* in the northern border *(Picun*-north, *Che*-people), the *Huilliches* in the southern part of the Mapuche territory *(Huilli*-south, *Che*-people); the *Pehuenches* in the eastern part in the Andean mountains area, bordering Argentina *(Pehuen*-pine trees, *Che*-people), and the *Lafkenches* in the Western lakes and Pacific Ocean coastal areas *(Lafken-lake/ocean, Che*-people). The *Picunche* group that was originally located in the Northern part of the Mapuche territory was the first one to disappear during the colonial expansion (Grebe, 1998). Today only three remaining groups (*Pehuenches, Huilliches* and *Lafkenches)* are to be found within the Chilean Mapuche context.

It is also important to mention that today the Mapuche people of Chile is one of the most urbanized Native American populations in the continent, with almost 80% of its population having migrated to the Chilean cities of Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción, Temuco and Valdivia (Aylwin, 2002; INE, 2002). An approximate 50% of the total Mapuche population in the country lives today in the capital city of Santiago (INE-Mideplan, 2002).

Across the Chilean border with Argentina, a similar process of redefinition and reduction of the Argentinean Mapuche ancestral territory has taken place over time.

The current areas of higher Argentinean Mapuche concentration include the provinces of Neuquén and Río Negro across the border from the Araucanía in Chile, where currently there is a presence of *Mapuche-Puelche* people with a population of about 70.000 habitants living in 47 communities. The last estimates indicated that including Neuquén, Río Negro, the province and city of Buenos Aires and the provinces in the Patagonia (Chubut, Santa Cruz y Tierra del Fuego), the total Mapuche population in Argentina comes to 300,000 habitants (Hernández, 2003) (map 5).

2.1.b. From Pre-Colombian times to Spanish colonization

Before European contact, the Mapuche people lived in an extended territory of today what is part of Central and Southern Chile and the central part of Argentina (map 5). The origin of the Mapuche, or Araucanos as they were called by the Spaniards, continues to be a matter of debate (Bengoa, 2000, 1985). Chilean historians Latcham (1924) and later Encinas (1953) argue that based on common cultural traits and linguistic traits with the Tupi-Guaraní and other nomadic indigenous groups from the Amazon basin, the Mapuche crossed the Paraguayan Chaco and later went into Chile by crossing the Andean mountains west from Argentina. On the other hand, researchers, such as Guevara (1928) and others argued that the direction of the original Mapuche migration was very different, in fact, opposite. According to this interpreation, the Mapuche originally came down the Pacific coast coming from the north (Bolivia and Peru) and then crossed east towards Argentina. Current archeological research has invalidated both theories about a late migration, as recent discoveries of remnants of what could be called an ancient Mapuche culture have been dated as far back as 500 to 600 years B.C. (Bengoa, 2000, 1985).

So, the origins of the Mapuche people remain controversial and although the historical subdivision in four main groups *(Picunches, Pehuenches, Lafkenches and Huilliches)* has been widely accepted by the vast majority of historians and

researchers, there are some who do not completely agree with the existence of these groups as discrete and bounded ethnicities since early times (Course 2005). Considering especially, that the Mapuche as a group identified under that name, only begins to appear in the historical record in the eighteenth century (Boccara, 1999b). According to these authors, before 1760 this indigenous group was referred by many Spanish chronicles as *Reche*. Boccara (1999b) argues that this is not only a change in the ethnic group name, but also refers to the emergence of a new ethnic identity (Course 2005). So, according to these authors, the type of power which appeared in the Araucanía in the second half of the eighteenth century after Spanish colonization was radically different to the one which existed before (Boccara, 1999b).

Whether the Mapuche's main subsistence activity was agriculture during pre-Columbian times is another subject matter which has also been widely debated among historians. What is clear is that in the northern areas of the Mapuche territory, the *Mapuche-Picunche* tribes, who were in contact with and had stopped the Inca empire's expansion to the south at the river Maule (map 5), had developed forms of agriculture and irrigation systems similar to the Incas. But the record indicates that the other Mapuche groups, practiced only marginal forms of agriculture and depended more heavily on hunting, fishing and gathering with minimal horticultural and animal husbandry (Bengoa, 2000, Villalobos, 1995). This situation remained until 1882 when the reservation system based on subsistence agriculture was imposed by the Chilean state after a war of colonization (Latchman 1924, Guevara 1927; Titiev, 1951).

2.1.c. Mapuche traditional socio-political organization

Although no strong evidence has been found of a consistent and clearly established traditional socio-political organizational structure beyond the level of community groupings called a *Lof*, which still exist today among the Mapuche,

according to Melville (1976), there are some classifications that are seen frequently in the historical ethnographic record of certain Mapuche groups.

The *Rukas* were the main habitational units of the extended Mapuche families, which, based on patrilineal groupings (*Kungawen),* constituted the base of each community. Several communities were grouped in a *Lof*, which was headed by a chief called a *Longko.* Several *Lofs* were grouped in a *Rewe* and several *Rewes* (generally 9), were grouped in an *Ailla-Rewe (3).*

The *Ailla-Rewes* were larger independent communal and territorial units which were headed by an *Ülmen-futra-Longko* during peace times and a *Toqui* during war. At a larger organizational scale the *Ailla-Rewes* were grouped in larger confederations called *Butan-Mapus* which were headed by a *Ñidol-Longko*.

Although historically power positions in the communities were enabled by the existence of *Küpal*, a sort of inherited status and prestige which certain lineages and families had by definition (Melville, 1977), before the nineteenth century the highly democratic political traditions of the Mapuche people prevailed and all leadership positions during times of peace or war, were based on merit. Leaders were elected by a counsel *(Cahuín)* of elders or warriors representing their communities. But things changed during the nineteenth century, and forms of hereditary power began to take place as certain chiefs *(Longkos)*, began to leave power to their offspring, so that a sort caste formation began to emerge among the Mapuche. By the time the Church established special schools for educating the sons of the *Longkos* in the mid-1800s, the inheritance practices had become more prevalent (Bengoa 1985; 2000).

2.1.d. Early Spanish Colonial contact

During Pre-Columbian times, the Mapuche had since long battled and kept at bay the Inca's imperial expansion to the south, which had not been able to cross into Mapucheland, south of the Río Maule (map 5). So, by the time the Spanish arrived in

Chile in 1536, and headed south to the Araucanía, they encountered the fierce resistant of a group of Native Americans who had experienced long in battle with the Incas. The first one hundred years after the Spanish arrival in Chile, a brutal war of conquest against the Mapuche was waged, and a significant portion of the Mapuche population died (Bengoa, 2000). According to Flores (1997), the indigenous population in Chile was about one million people, at the point of the first European contact in 1540, but by 1640, after 100 years of colonization and war, it was reduced by half. In the case of the Mapuche, it is agreed that half a million Mapuche people lived in the Araucanía at the time of early Spanish contact in 1540 (Faron 1968; Bengoa 1985, 2000) and, due to war and epidemics, no more than a quarter of the original Mapuche people remained alive after 1640.

The peace came with the first peace treaty of *Quilín* in 1641, held between the Spanish crown and the Mapuche leadership of that time. The treaty of Quilín ended a war with devastating consequences for the Mapuche, but one in which Spain also lost some of its best battle-hardened veteran soldiers of European wars, including the first Spanish governor of Chile, Don Pedro de Valdivia who was captured and executed by the Mapuche in 1554 (Villalobos, 1983).

The resistance of the Mapuche people to the Spanish colonization was fierce, and the war of the *Araucanía* was not a brief one. It lasted for almost 260 years, including approximately 200 years under the rule of the Spanish crown and 50 years under the newly created Chilean Republic (Bengoa, 1985; 2000) (4).

The internal instability among the Mapuche population that was produced by the wars of colonization created mass migrations and relocations of different Mapuche groups (especially the ones in the northern areas) who resettled within the different areas of the ancestral territories in the Araucanía. The wars altered in a substantial way the traditional Mapuche culture and brought about important reconfigurations of the Mapuche map in the Araucanía, including the eventual push south of the northern border. This also included the exodus of some Mapuche groups, especially from the

Picunche groups in the north and the Pehuenche group in the eastern Andean mountains, across the border towards Argentina, and resettled in what is today the province of Neuquén in Argentina.

Although the Mapuche were living in a breathtakingly beautiful territory, they neither had, nor cared much about, gold nor silver and being a fiercely independent warlike culture, the Spanish crown soon decided not to make the effort to impose its full dominance over them and their territory. This demanded far more manpower and resources than the Spanish crown was willing to invest in a territory that was not going to yield an easy profit in either gold or silver, as the mayor civilizations of the Incas or the Aztecs had produced. That is how the *War of Arauco* lasted for so long under Spanish rule and was never officially ended during the Spanish colonization of Chile.

Although a long list of treaties, called *Parlamentos* were signed between the Mapuche leadership and the Spanish crown between 1641 and 1816; it was the treaties of *Quilín in 1641* and *Negrete in 1726 and 1793*, which were the most relevant. Although they did not put an end to the war, they defined the borders and mutual areas of influence that the Mapuche and the Spaniards would have in the region of the Araucanía. These *Parlamentos* (treaties) also regulated the commercial interactions between Europeans and Mapuches which began flourishing during the peace times that existed between battle times, in the long 260 years that the war lasted (Bengoa, 2000). Nevertheless, the fierce and unusual resistance of the Mapuche people against foreign intervention (first by Spanish colonization and later by the Chilean state), their territorial borders and community life were substantially altered during Spanish colonization and totally intervened during the Chilean republican times.

The Spanish Encomienda system

The Encomienda system was an economic land tenure system, established by the Spaniards upon their arrival to the Americas. It consisted of an

> *Encomendero, who through a royal order was converted into a landlord with rights over the land and the indigenous population within a vast territorial space. The Encomienda system began as the basis of the Spanish economic colonial system and had a socio-political structural order based in the medieval European feudal system, adapted to the new world into what some have called early forms of Colonial Capitalism (Vitale, Mandel et al., 1977).*

In the conquered territories of the Americas, starting in the sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown established the *Encomienda* system which soon became the basic economic unit of production in the Spanish colonial estates. The pattern of land distribution laid down by this semi-feudal system adapted to the New World would become the basis for the Latin American land tenure structure, which lasted for almost 450 years. This land tenure structure would not change radically, until the 1960's with the beginning of the *Reforma Agraria* (Vitale, Mandel, et al., 1977).

Headed by an *Encomendero,* who through a royal order had been converted into a landlord with rights over the land and the indigenous population within the vast territorial space conquered by the Spanish army, the *Encomienda* system has been considered an early form of *Capitalist Production* in the Americas (Vitale, Mandel, et al., 1977). Although the King of Spain officially remained as the owner of the land and of the indigenous people in them (who became subjects of the crown upon conquest), the Church had a central role in this economic structure. Administrative positions were held only by Spaniards; the peasantry was formed by the indigenous people, who were forced into labor or to pay a tribute for their usage of the land. Despite, the official enslavement of the indigenous population having been prohibited by the Spanish Crown in 1559 (by law it could only be applied to prisoners of war and to black people), the real conditions of forced labor for indigenous people which took place through the *Mita (*gangs of indigenous forced laborers), has been seen by many as an

equivalent to slavery and to early forms of forced migration of indigenous workers (Glausser and Vitale, 1974).

The *Encomiendas* were a royal concession to an individual with no direct entitlement to property, and were supposedly not assigned for life nor inherited, but in practice, many influential colonial families kept them through generations as part of their patrimony (Himmerich y Valencia, 1991).

After independence and the formation of the Latin American post-colonial nation-states, the *Encomienda* system was officially abolished and the indigenous population in them declared citizens, but in real terms, the land structure of vast amounts of territory were highly concentrated in few hands as established originally by the *Encomienda* system did not change much after independence. It continued after the colonial period into Republican times, in the so called *"Latifundios"* (Glausser and Vitale, 1974). The *Encomiendas* were transferred to the *creol* descendants of the Spanish *Encomenderos*, who eventually became the Republican oligarchy, owners of the same large extensions of land which used to be owned by their Spanish ancestors, the *Encomenderos*. The indigenous people in them, although they were declared citizens, remained in the *Latifundios* as low wage paid peasants, with almost none of their citizen rights (Glausser and Vitale, 1974).

In the case of Chile, as in other parts of Latin America, the post-colonial land tenure system of the *Latifundio*, created after independence in 1810, which had really originated in the Spanish colonial *Encomienda* in the sixteenth century, only began to change at the point of the arrival of the *Reforma Agraria* in the decade of the 1960s, and the important land redistribution process that came with it. It is estimated that in 1960, before the *Agrarian Reform* began in Latin America, 75% of the land was owned by a 5% of the population (Vitale, Mandel et al., 1977).

Although the colonial period had a tremendous negative effect for the Mapuche population and its culture, and dramatic changes of cultural and economic patterns took place among the Mapuche during that time (Aylwin, 2002; Bengoa, 2000), in one

way or another, the lack of interest by the Spanish Crown and the unsuccessful intervention of the Catholic Church, allowed the Mapuche to continue living within many of their ancestral cultural and linguistic traditions, without total foreign intervention in their affairs. But that was not the case at the point at which Chile became an independent republic. Then the emerging nation-state, slowly but surely began to assert its dominance and hegemonic assimilationist stand over the region of the Araucanía and over the Mapuche people.

2.1.e. Evangelizing resistance: colonial education, the Church and the Mapuche

Considering that in Chile the Church and the State have been the two main historical educational agents responsible for mainstream Mapuche schooling, the role of the Church (especially Catholic) becomes an important point to be seen in relation to the formal schooling practices of the Mapuche people, since early colonial times until today.

It is a very well-known fact that, in the Americas, the historical relationship between Native American people and European Christianity represented by the institution of the Church has never been an easy one, full of contradictions and inconsistencies (Bengoa, 1992). The case of the Mapuche people of Chile is no exception to this rule, although the different historical positions of the Catholic Church towards indigenous culture and cosmology, and the variety of philosophical approaches of the different religious orders that were involved in colonial evangelization and education of the Mapuche people, created different historical contexts in which this took place (Foerster, 1993).

The Catholic Church has had a dominant presence in Chile since early Spanish colonization and the most influential orders historically related to the Mapuche were the Franciscan, Jesuits and Capuchins. These orders not only had important differences from one another in terms of their philosophical approaches to evangelizing and

educating the Mapuche, but also in terms of differences in the approaches between their hierarchy and their regular priesthood in the field (Foerster, 1993; Bengoa, 1992).

In broad terms, the position of the Catholic Church in Chile towards the Mapuche people could be characterized as having a *fundamentalist evangelizing* role during early colonial times, becoming softer as the Spanish colonial process consolidated, becoming ultimately a key agent in the *assimilationist* project of the republican nation-state, after its creation in 1810. After this, it changed towards a more humanitarian role during the social reforms of the decades of the 1950s and 1960s and shifted even more towards the support of the Native American agenda and movement in the 1970s and 1980s, due to the *Theology of Liberation* and the political changes brought about by the end of the *Cold War.* As a matter of fact, in these two decades (70s and 80s), in many Latin American countries under dictatorship, including Chile, the Catholic Church became a buffer between the repression of the authoritarian regimes in power and the people being oppressed by them. In terms of it social policy the Catholic Church in Chile, since the 1970s, stands more on the liberal side of the political spectrum. The current Christian Democrat party *(Democracia Cristiana)* which constitutes an important political middle-class force at the center of the political spectrum, is anchored in the doctrine of the Catholic Church of Chile.

Foerster and Gunderman (1996) and other Chilean scholars, agree on the existence of a sequence of events taking place in the development of the evangelizing and educational processes of the Catholic church in its interaction with the Mapuche people of Chile. According to this classification, the first period corresponds to the early colonial times of the *Sword and the Cross* in which the Church stood at the side of the Conquering Spanish army, as part of the colonizing effort which was also phrased within a religious mandate to take the indigenous people out of the hands of the *"Evil of Barbarism"* in which they lived. For this purpose, a large network of *Misiones* within the Spanish army fortresses, where built in the Araucanía between 1553 and 1598 so as to develop mass evangelization programs among the Mapuche.

This historical period corresponds to one of the darkest times of Spanish colonization in the Americas and it gave origin to the so called *"Black Legend of the Conquest"*. It was a time in which indigenous people were seen as non-humans, creatures of the devil, out of the natural order, and with very few possibilities for redemption. Their violent submission by force in order to be saved by becoming subjects of the Spanish Crown was legitimized by the Church.

In a letter to the King of Spain, written from the Araucanía in 1550 by the first Spanish Governor of Chile, Don Pedro de Valdivia, states: "Between 1,500 and 2,000 indians have been killed, many others have been passed through our lances. Another amount has been burned, to which I have ordered to cut at least 200 hands and noses as a punishment for the rebellion against the orders of your majesty." (Forester, 1993).

At the same time the Vicar of the Augustinian order of Chile, Fray Juan de Vascones proclaimed, referring to the Mapuche: "In their infidelity this is people that does not recognize God, but only the devil with whom they are in contact through witchcraft, and have no behaviors regulated by natural laws, so they live in sin, incest and mischief…therefore it becomes legitimate to force them into the good, by breaking their will." The inhuman treatment and violence of this period, in which Mapuches were expropriated of their lands and many were forced into slave labor in the newly established *Encomienda* system, brought about several Mapuche rebellions. Including one in 1554, in which the Governor *Pedro de Valdivia* was captured and killed. Followed by the uprising of 1598, which burned down to ashes all newly founded Spanish cities in the region of the Araucanía.

The second Period of Evangelization begins in the seventeenth century with the arrival of the Jesuits who became the main religious order in the *Araucanía*. They had a very different perspective on evangelization than the other two influential orders (Franciscans and Dominicans) that preceded them in the Araucanía during the early stages of colonization. Upon their arrival in *Mapucheland,* the Jesuits began a massive program of baptisms, dismissing the previously established perspective about the

supposedly evil aspect that dominated the Mapuche's ancestral religion and practices. Jesuits began developing a genuine interest in the Mapuche cosmology, culture and language. Some of the most important early ethnographic works and insights into the Mapuche culture and language during the colonial period were done by Jesuits. The body of work of Friar Alonso de Ovalle, in his *Histórica Relación del Reyno de Chile* dated in 1646, is still considered to be one of the most important testimonies of early ethnographic work on the Mapuche during colonial times (Foerster, 1993). By creating a network of schools for the Mapuche sons of influential families, the Jesuits also gained, slowly but surely, the support of the Mapuche leadership for their evangelizing objectives. Diego de Rosales, an influential Jesuit missionary in the Araucanía began in 1656 an important movement to stop the war that the Spanish crown was waging against the Mapuche s well as the abuses being committed against them by the Spanish colonizers. Citing the Gospel, he began a movement legitimizing the defense of the Mapuche, a social movement of resistance which has been seen by many as an early form of *Theology of Liberation*, which would appear many centuries later in the Latin American church, during the decade of the 1960s (Foerster, 1993). It is at this point in time when the Mapuche cosmology was discovered by the Jesuits as an interpretation of the world which had a complex pantheon of deities and many elements in common with the Christian biblical interpretations of creation in the Genesis and also linked to several other Christian principles (Foerster y Gunderman, 1996). But, this stage of empathy towards the indigenous peoples in the Americas, including the Mapuche in the Araucanía, created by the Jesuits arrived to an abrupt end in 1770, when after having endured an important movement of opposition towards them coming from the Spanish colonial authorities, their order is expelled by the Spanish Crown from all the Spanish New World, and replaced by more conservative elements of the Catholic Church.

The third stage, takes place upon the forced departure of the Jesuits, when the Franciscan order assumes a great part of the work previously done by the Jesuits,

especially in relation to the network of schools and educational projects in the missions that the Jesuits had began. But the Franciscans did not have the same level of empathy with the Mapuche that the Jesuits had shown and although in the next 50 years (until the beginning of independence in 1810), the Franciscan order put special interest in educating the new generations of Mapuche leaders in order to build a base for a new Christian Mapuche family, their project is frustrated when they realize that the Mapuche people at large did not embrace Christianity as they expected (Foerster, 1993). Although the Mapuche accepted baptism, the chiefs did not abandon their ancestral religion or other customs such as the prevalent system of polygamy, which constituted the power base of political alliances among family lineages (Bengoa, 2000). In 1789 a report by the Franciscan high ranking priest, Fray Ascasubi, refers to the Mapuches as *"Barbarians baptized by the Jesuit, who are not reduced to Christian life and still live in the darkness of infidelity"* (Foerster, 1993). Another Franciscan report of the same time done by Fray Sors accuses a Mapuche chief of "sacrilegious statements" because he proposed to a high ranking Franciscan priest that instead of having to go around constantly baptizing a multitude of Mapuche children, why didn't they directly baptize the penis of the male members of their communities, so their children would be born automatically baptized without so much effort (Foerster, 1993).

The fourth evangelizing and educational period begins with the Declaration of Independence in 1810 and the creation of the Chilean republican nation-state. This was a period in which the newly created Chilean state incorporates the religious orders, their missions and the networks of schools they have created in the Araucanía, as key component for the creation of a public schooling system for the Mapuche people. Schooling which would merge the evangelizing process that the Church had been trying to create for centuries with the assimilationist component of the newly created nation-state project. In 1832, the government in conjunction with the Catholic Church created the *Escuela de Chillán,* an educational institution aimed at centralizing and

coordinating the educational efforts of the State and the Church for the education and assimilation of the Mapuche youth into the ideology of the newly created Chilean nation. In an agreement with the Vatican, twenty five additional Franciscan missionaries trained in different areas including education, are brought from Italy for the purpose of organizing and reinforcing the missionary work in the schools of the *Araucanía*.

By 1860, the perspective on the Mapuche prevalent within the Franciscan order had not change much in relation to their predecessors, as seen in Fray Palavicino's writing: *"Although centuries have gone by and hundreds of missionaries have been involved in the heroic task of Christianizing and civilizing the Araucanos (Mapuche), they remain the same; infidels attached to their barbaric usages and culture"* (Foerster, 1993). Another important order which came to establish missionary schools in the *Araucanía* at that time was the Italian Capuchins. Although, they did not establish the level of empathy the Jesuits had before them, they had a milder approach in their views towards Mapuche culture and religion, than that of the Franciscans. Soon after their arrival, the Capuchins, like the Jesuits a century before, developed a network of schools and began to gain an understanding of the Capuche cosmology, culture and language, as never before.

Important ethnographic work on the Capuche culture and language emerges at this time. In one of the first serious linguistic studies of the Mapudungún language *"Gramática Araucana,"* written in 1890 by the Italian Capuchin priest Octavio de Nizza, the first serious ethnographic accounts of *Gnechen* as the main Mapuche deity in the *Admapu (Mapuche Universe)* appears, constituting the first ethnographic study of the Mapuche cosmological universe and their pantheon of Gods. Soon the Capuchins, as had their predecessors the Jesuits, became involved in the Mapuche religious settings and began participating in the networks of reciprocity that gave meaning to their ancestral religious practices. At the same time, the Capuchins began to compete with the *Machis* (Mapuche Shamans) in medical healing skills and

practices, as they began developing early forms of health community projects. With the later arrival of an important group of German Capuchins from the region of Baviera, the order was reinforced and achieves the same level of influence in the Mapuche schooling as than the Franciscan order had. At this point the Fraciscans remained in charged of the network of schools *of Chillán* and the network of *Colegios de Naturales* in the northern part of the Araucanía and the Capuchins gained control of the network of schools dependent from the *Escuela of Castro* in the island of *Chiloe*, controlling with this the networks of indigenous schooling of the southern part of the *Araucanía* (Marimán, 1997).

An important amount of ethnographic and linguistic work on the Mapuche is also produced by the German Capuchin monks during late nineteenth and twentieth century, as they became increasingly involved with the Mapuche culture and language. Point in case is the important body of work left by Fray Ernesto de Moesbach, who studied diverse topics from indigenous botany, language, and religion to ethnic identity. The book *Testimonio de un Cacique Mapuche* published in 1930, where de Moesbach transcribed the accounts of the Mapuche people and culture in the XIX century as seen by Pascual Coña a *Mapuche-Lafkenche* chief from the communities in Piedra Alta in the Lake Budi, direct ancestor of one of my informants, is considered a major ethnographic work on the Mapuche. Another ground-breaking ethnographic work concerning the Mapuche language done by German capuchins is the *Diccionario Araucano,* published in 1916 by Fryer Felix de Augusta, is still considered to be one of the most comprehensive linguistic publications concerning the *Mapudungún* language.

But the situation of the coming decades would be anything but calm in the *Araucanía,* as in the year 1881 there is a regional Mapuche uprising in the region and the Chilean state declares a total war against the Mapuche people. Euphemistically called *"La Pacificación de la Araucanía",* this war devastated the Mapucheland and its

people and by 1883 the Chilean army had taken possession of the whole region and placed the Mapuche into reservations *(Reducciones Indígenas)* (Aylwin, 2002).

The period that follows the war is the fourth stage of evangelization and education, in which the assimilationist policies of the Chilean state were intensified with renewed energies in the Church's networks of schools attached to the missions. After the war, Church schools became even more aligned and subordinated to the assimilationist state public schooling in the Araucanía. Point in which also a growing number of churches of the Protestant faiths, such as the Evangelical, Pentecostal and Methodist begin to create an important network of churches and schools within the Mapuche context in the Araucanía. These schools and churches also had a clear stand against traditional Mapuche culture and language (Bengoa, 1985).

According to the 2002 Census, 30% of the Mapuche people are now Evangelical and Pentecostal. Sadly, the Mapuche people from these faiths are the most militant against ancestral Mapuche traditions (Painemilla, 2003). During my field work, it was a constant to encounter that the Mapuche students which refused to participate in the school's IBE programs, in Mapudungún language instruction at school or in community ancestral celebrations, were coming from families that were of Evangelical or Pentecostal backgrounds.

Very different is the case of the current relationship of the Catholic church and the Mapuche people, that although still remains within an evangelizing framework and still remains in charged of the largest networks of schools within the Mapuche context, it is more sensitive to multiculturality and IBE programs in its schools. Also remains in favor of supporting larger degrees of autonomy of the Mapuche from the state and the re-ethnification processes as proposed by the current Mapuche leadership. This position can be seen in the declaration by the Bishop of Temuco in the Araucanía in 1992 in his statement that *"Our concern is how the Church can contribute from the Gospel to the enrichment of the indigenous identity and how the Gospel is able to illuminate the values of native people"* (Nutram, 1992:51). It also can be seen in the

Declaration of Catholic Bishops from the South of Chile in 2001, in which they say that, *"The common effort for the construction of social justice in the country should respects the rights of indigenous people, which implies the political will to arrive to a constitutional recognition of the ethnic and linguistic groups that form the nation."* (Bello, 2004).

Currently, churches of all denominations in Latin America are adapting to the changing times and are establishing a renewed intercultural dialogue with the indigenous peoples of the continent (Forester, 1993; Bengoa, 2002). These changes have come at a time when a strong and growing movement of *Indigenous Emergence* is taking place. They have come at a time when an important indigenous political movement at a continental level is becoming able to articulate its new demands and assert its historical rights, to the point that in some countries such as Bolivia, a Native American Aymara has become in 2005, the democratically elected president.

2.2 The Chilean state and the Mapuche people: a long asymmetric conflict

The historical relations established between the Chilean State and its indigenous populations including the Mapuche, has not been very different from what other states in the Americas experienced with their indigenous populations. That is, a colonial relationship, based on asymmetric relations of power, where the indigenous populations were subordinated by force to the interests of the nation-state. Subordination first imposed by the European colonizers and later continued after the creation of the republics, by the national Creole post-colonial oligarquies, which inherited the power from the colonizers. So, the relationship between the Chilean state and the Mapuche people has been historically framed within the asymmetric relations of power began during Spanish colonial times and continued during republican times by the oligarquic elites in power (Bengoa, 2000; Aylwin, 2002).

Although, it is widely accepted that there have been important changes in the Chilean state from the Colonial past to the current Neo-colonial present, there is still a long way to go. The subordination and inequalities of the Mapuche people vis-a-vis the Chilean state remains present until today (Namancura, 2001).

Although after the end of the Chilean military dictatorship in 1990 and the consolidation of the democratic governments that followed, the Chilean state made important advances towards solving the complex socio-cultural, economic and human issues of its indigenous populations, the advances towards this have not been truly radical, and today, although there is a dialogue and a reflection about this situation, it is also clear that the current demands of the Mapuche leadership are very far from becoming a reality.

If establishing a critical dialogue about these historically contested issues is a step forwards, then I think that the current situation between the Mapuche people and the Chilean state is moving a step forwards, but I do not think that it is going very far beyond that first step.

2.2.a. The emerging Chilean state and the Mapuche people

Soon after independence in 1810, the national oligarchy that inherited power from the colonial masters began the process of the imagining of a new nation (Anderson, 1991). This process engendered a series of ambiguous ideological abstractions and an hybrid symbolic order which in order to create a new national identity, which although was coming from Spain it also needed to distance itself from its European referent, in order to become an independent Latin American entity. In this contradictory effort some Native American symbols and metaphors such as the bravery of the Mapuche resistance to confront the Spanish Crown in a centuries old war, mixed with some of the *Roussonian* elements of the *"Noble Savage"*, are added to the newly

created national iconography in which the Mapuche participates as a distant abstraction.

But, the imagining of the post-colonial nation that began to emerge, although exalting abstract qualities of the Mapuche people in a far historical context, because in practical terms gave very little or no recognition to the current Mapuche people's political, cultural or linguistic rights, as legitimate citizens and participating member in the newly created republic (Villalobos, 1983; Bengoa, 1985, 2000). On the other hand, the support that many Mapuche groups had given to the colonial Spanish army in their fight against the newly created Chilean republican army did not contribute much to their sympathies at the end of the war of independence (Bengoa, 2000).

In practical terms, after independence there was a shift in state policy from a brief intention of "inclusion" to an established policy of "exclusion" towards the Mapuches, who eventually came to be perceived as a threat to the national integrity. At this point, the Mapuche culture and language remains a synonym of the backwards, barbaric and inferior (Bello, 2004), and whatever integration into the national-state project did happen, only took place through forced assimilation (Pinto, 2000). As Stuchlik (1974) indicates "from the moment in which the Mapuche were not consider as enemies of the state or bandits, they began to be considered as second class citizens, backwards and ignorant bad workers who wasted their resources."

The first Chilean president, Bernardo O'Higgins by presidential order, enacted a progressive law which in 1819 gave the status of citizens to the Mapuche people, but this decision was never really implemented by the Chilean governing elites of the time and in practical terms the Mapuche people where not enabled to exercise their newly acquired citizen's rights (Bengoa, 2000). O'Higgins also established the need for doing the first demographic census among the indigenous populations in the country and to give them the rights to own the land in which they lived, but this was easier said than done. Many complicated situations quickly accrued derived from the inaccurate

cartography of the times and the definitions of the territories owned by the Mapuche at this historical point.

Situation which soon lead to widespread fraud by unscrupulous land speculators who enticed the Mapuche to sell their property at a fraction of the market value. So, by 1853, a paternalistic law, phrased as a defense of the Mapuche people against economic fraud, was passed by Congress who established that all transactions for the buying or selling land owned by the Mapuche must be done through the state as a mediator (Aylwin, 2002). But the pressure by mainstream Chilean groups interested in colonizing the Araucanía owned by the Mapuche, continued to be very strong and eventually this law evolved into an additional law in 1866, in which the state not only played a key role as a mediator in buying and selling of the Mapuche lands (to supposedly protect the Mapuche people), but also that the state becomes the authority which established the number of acres that each Mapuche must document in their titles of property *(Títulos de Merced).* At this point the state becomes distributor of the land of the Mapuche and soon an important percentage of former Mapuche territory is transferred to the hands of the state. Who begins to assign it to immigrants from Germany, France, Italy and Spain who were attracted in mass to Chile by the land deals given by the immigration policies of that time.

However, in practical terms the so called *"Mapuche question"* in the Araucanía, was not fully addressed by the Chilean state in decades, because immediately after the war of independence against Spain, the state focused on defining its territorial borders with its neighbors, Perú, Bolivia and Argentina. It was a time in which not only has the war of Independence against Spain recently ended, but a series of border disputes among the newly created republics was taking place all over Latin America, because Spain had never defined clearly the internal borders within its vast colonial territories in the Americas, which later-on would become the different nation-states (Barros, 1990).

In the ancestral territory of the Mapuche, things began to change fast when in 1861 the French adventurer Orellie Antoine declared himself *King of the Araucanía.* He hoped to establish a hereditary monarchy allied to France among the Mapuches. At this point, the Chilean state already had done some military incursions in the area and had established some basic legislation in relation to the situation, but had not yet developed a clear policy on it. So, Antoine as the *"French King of the Araucanía"* became the joke of the town of Santiago that mocked the idea of the Mapuche becoming speakers of French. However, some legislators did not find him very funny. Thus, in 1866, Congress designated the first Chilean governor of the province of Arauco, Colonel Cornelio Saavedra. Under his command the Chilean army slowly began to occupy the region of the Araucanía, but Mapuche resistance was hard and the task was not easy. In the year 1870, the Chilean Congress declared a war against the Mapuche calling it *"La Pacificación de la Araucanía,"* war that soon expand over all over Araucanía, including the area across the border with Argentina.

Then, in 1879, Chile became involved n yet another territorial dispute on the northern border with Peru and Bolivia, the *"War of the Pacific"*. The "Mapuche problem" was pushed to the back burner again, where it was left unattended for many years. By the time the *Fütra Malón* (great Mapuche uprising) of 1881 took place, the resolution of the "Mapuche Question" had become an imperative for the Chilean state, and the "solution" would come in a brutal and swift fashion. Colonel Saavedra´s batallions of battle-hardened troops, originally moved from the Araucanía to fight the *War of the Pacific* in the northern border with Peru and Bolivia, were redeployed back again to the Araucanía in 1881, soon after the *War of the Pacific* had ended. By 1883, the euphemistically called *"Pacificación de la Araucanía"* was complete and all the region of the ancestral Mapuche territory was militarily occupied. At the end of this genocidal war, the Mapuche people who survived were re-located into 3,000 reservations *(Reducciones Indígenas)* losing 95% of their ancestral land. After the war, the Mapuche people were reduced to 500 thousand acres out of a total 10 million acres,

which had been their original ancestral land (Bello, 2004; Gonzáles, 1986; Aylwin, 2002).

Between 1884 and 1927, the Chilean state gave a total of 2,918 *Títulos de Merced* (titles of property) to Mapuche people including 526,000 acres. This left each Mapuche family with an average of 6.1 acres as part of communal property established in the reservations. At the same time, Chilean and European colonizers from Spain, Italy, France and Germany were given between 50 to 500 acres to each family (Marimán, 1990).

In 1931, a new blow to the Mapuche land tenure took place as the Chilean government put an end to the Mapuche communal land holding established within the reservation system, giving titles of property for the 6 acres of land assigned to each Mapuche family living in them. This process of individual privatization of land within the reservations created a micro division among the Mapuche land owners, totally at odds opposed with the existing dynamic of agricultural production which required large extensions of land to be productive. So, eventually the Mapuche families began to sell their land to non-Mapuche land speculators. It did not take many years to arrive to the point at which non-Mapuches owned not only the vast amounts of territories taken by the state after the war in 1883, but also most of the important parts of the former Mapuche communal territories that had been protected by the laws of communal ownership of land on the reservations. By the late 1930's the percentage of land in the Araucanía which remained in hands of the Mapuche becomes less than a 15% (Bengoa, 2000). The impoverishment and hardship in the Mapuche rural settings (due to the lack of land and economic opportunities for making a living) that this has created, has lead to the mass migration of Mapuche people to the main urban centers. Migratory processes which continue until today with the characteristics of a Diaspora, which according to the national census of 1992 and 2002 has moved an approximate 80% of the Mapuche population to five main urban centers of the country, where the

majority survives as low paid and unskilled workers in the service industries (INA-Mideplan, 1992, 2002).

2.2.b. The Agrarian Reform and Counter-Reform (1960s -1980s)

In the decade of the 1960´s and early 1970´s the *Agrarian Reform* proposed a change in the existing land tenure structures which concentrated vast amounts of land in very few hands. This idea, backed up by reformist governments in the 1960's, begins to be seen in Latin America as the only viable alternative for solving the abysmal levels of poverty in the rural areas, especially among the indigenous populations. It is estimated that in 1960, at the beginning of the Agrarian Reform in Latin America, there was a total population of 200 million people of which 55% lived in rural areas. Only 25% of the land was farmed, 75% of it was owned by 5% of the population. Latin American economies were based on a single product and 50% of the national income went to 4% of the population (Vitale, Mandel et al., 1977). Chile was not an exemption to this rule and the *Agrarian Reform* began in 1964 with the reformist Christian Democrat president Eduardo Frei and continued in 1971 with the socialist president Salvador Allende.

The land redistribution processes that brought the Agrarian Reform to Chile in the 1960s, created a resurgence of the Mapuche indigenous movement who began with renewed vigor its demands for territorial, political and cultural rights. In 1973, the socialist government of Allende established the law 17.729 which created an initial framework for a change of public policy with a goal to satisfy the Mapuche historical demands for land recovery. Allende created the *Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena* as a state office to implement the new indigenous state policies, and returned 70,000 acres to the Mapuche, versus the 1,443 acres that had been returned to them from 1964 to 1970 (Berdichewsky, 1975). However, this process did not last long as a violent political change came to Chile through a brutal military Coup D´etat in 1973 that

overthrew the democratically elected Allende government and installs in power a military dictatorship that would remain in power for the next 18 years. One of the first actions of the *De facto* military regime was to dictate the Law # 2,568, which reversed all changes in land tenure and dismantled all political organizations that had, began with the *Reforma Agraria* in the 1960´s and had continued into the early 1970s. The Pinochet regime used established a *"Counter Agrarian Reform",* which eventually reversed all changes in land tenure done by the Agrarian Reform in more than a decade (Namancura, 2001). This infamous nationalistic law, not only returned the land tenure structure to the status existing before the agrarian reform a decade before, but also intends to annihilate the very concept of indigenous people and identity by legislating against its existence. In the words of Mapuche leader, Domingo Namancura (2001).

> L*aw # 2,568, signed in 1978 by the military dictator General Pinochet, not only returned the Mapuche land tenure to the status previous to the agrarian reform of the 1960s but also in one of its central articles tried to erase the very concept of ethnic identity by establishing that "their lands will stop being called indigenous lands and their habitants will stop being called indigenous people. "Dejarán de llamarse indígenas sus tierras e indígenas sus habitantes."*

This legislation repeats in a similar way the cycle that took place with the legislation of 1931, which enabled a high percentage of Mapuche land to be sold on the market to non-Mapuche landowners. This time, the Law 2,568 gave again to Mapuche community's individual titles of property over land that had been communal after 1931 and titles of individual property were assigned to micro parcels of 6 acres per family in each reservation. Although, it did not allow selling and buying of some communal land by non-Mapuche, it allowed the leasing of it for periods of 99

consecutive years. Another market-oriented redistribution process of Mapuche land tenure was to be repeated in the late 1970s and early 1980s as it had been in the 1930s. Although, this time the Mapuche land did not end in the hands of the traditional agricultural oligarquic *Latifundio* landowners as it did in the 1930´s, which had semi-feudal paternalistic relationships with their indigenous peasantry and needed their labor to work large extension of land. This time, the Mapuche land ends up in the hands of the large national and international financial conglomerates (investing in the timber and paper mill industry) and in the hands of the international venture capital investors in the mega-projects of energy and dam constructions (Namancura, 2001). These new proprietors of the land in the Araucanía had no roots in the area and harshly applied the principles of economic efficiency regulated by market forces of the neo-liberal economic system now in full swing. So, after rendering unprofitable the traditional agricultural production that the traditional oligarchic landowners of the Araucanía had established for decades, they profoundly changed the agricultural based economy of the region. They began aggressively developing the paper-mill industry, the agro-industry for exports of wood and a series of mega-project construction for energy production which profoundly altered the whole ecosystem including the human and animal habitats (Heine, 2001). This intense agro-industralization process in the Araucanía which has been taking place for the last 20 years, has ironically, generated the highest profits for the investors in these industries at the same time that has driven today a region that used to be called the *"Barn of Chile"* (because of its rich and highly productive grain agricultural production) to be classified as a region with some of the poorest communities in the country. They are now communities which show the lowest statistics in health, education, and employment and the lowest rates of economic growth (Casen/Mideplan, 1998). They are also the communities which also happen to have the highest Mapuche concentration in the country.

2.2.c. The Mapuche agenda of the 1990's: the indigenous emergence, re-ethnification, and political autonomy

> *Very exciting things are happening today as the indigenous movement in Latin America has become involved in a long term process of recovery and reconstruction of their ethnic identities and in the expansion and consolidation of their political, cultural and linguistic rights and demands. This new political stand is clearly having an impact and producing a change in the current public policies towards indigenous people in all Latin American states. I think we are living in times of important changes, as today we are no longer in front of indigenous populations highly dispersed and disconnected, without a clear sense of who they are or without a clear conscience of nations within nations that are culturally and linguistically differentiated from the mainstream. This is an important change of position, quite different of what existed until a couple of decades ago. Things are changing now, and today we are in front of a wider and coherent indigenous movement at the national and international levels. A movement that in the Americas includes more than 400 indigenous groups with clearly distinctive cultures, and which amounts to more than 50 million indigenous people.*
>
> *We are living in an exciting moment in which the indigenous movement in Latin America is moving in the direction of the strengthening of their indigenous identities and in asserting of their socio-political and cultural rights as a part of a process of the creation of the concepts of indigenous nations with increasing levels of self governance and autonomy from the states in which they are inserted.*
>
> *Isabel Hernández (5)*

The end of the military dictatorship in Chile came in 1989 as the end of the *Cold War* made unpopular the U.S. support for military regimes in Latin America. At the same time, that internally the social basis for support of the military regime had also been considerably eroded by the sustained action of the pro-democratic movement. The Chilean indigenous movement, grouped in 27 organizations, had also played an important role in the process of community-based resistance against the

dictatorship (Saavedra, 2002). That is how in 1989, after winning the election for the return to democracy, the coalition of political parties of *"La Concertación,"* headed by the recently elected Christian Democrat president, Patricio Aylwin, signed the agreement of *"Nueva Imperial"* with the Mapuche leadership. In this agreement the recently elected president pledged to support and address the Mapuche historical demands once democracy was reestablished in the coming months (Namancura, 2001).

In the agreement of *"Nueva Imperial"* the Chilean Mapuche leadership, in tune with the process of *"Indigenous Emergence"* taking place in Latin America, put forwards a new qualitative set of demands which went beyond the basic demands for community development of the past (Bengoa, 2002). Demands associated with the recognition of the Mapuche as a nation with territorial autonomy began to emerge (Foester y Vergara, 2000). In addition, the leadership demands a series of legal recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to manage their own affairs, legal protection of their current lands and waters, recovery and redistribution of ancestral lands and the support for cultural and linguistic rights, including IBE programs in public schools (Foerster, 1999).

The agreement of *Nueva Imperial* (1989) became the framework for political negotiations in which the coming democratic governments pledged to work for the recognition of the indigenous people's political and cultural demands. It was within this agreement that the Mapuche leadership agree to support the recently elected coalition *"La Concertación"* and refrained from the use of violence or any other mechanisms of pressure out of the institutional channels of conflict resolution. This point was of great interest for the *Concertación* who feared an increase of Mapuche violence in the Araucanía, which was already increasing fast (Bengoa, 1999).

It was within this agreement that once reestablished democracy in 1990, president Aylwin sent, in 1991, two bills of law for congressional approval. The first one was a bill for a constitutional reform which would enable the Mapuche people to acquire the status of a nation within the Chilean state. It included a recommendation

for the signature of Covenant 169, of the United Nation's International Labor Organization (UN/ILO). The second bill was related to the so-called "Indigenous Law" *(Ley Indígena 19.253)* which among other things would establish a state office for indigenous affairs *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (CONADI), with a mandate that included the protection of the current Mapuche territorial integrity by not allowing the sale of Mapuche land to non-Mapuche buyers and the establishment of cultural and lingustic rights though IBE programs in public schools.

But Congress never approved the constitutional reform or the signature of the (UN/IOL) Covenant 169. The bill of the Indigenous Law was substantially modified in Congress and what was approved was harshly criticized by important sectors of the Mapuche movement as an essentially paternalistic, first-stage development piece of legislation, which did not go far in the direction of addressing the indigenous demands as currently phrased (Saavedra, 2002; Mena, 2002). It excluded all legislation concerning the legal validity of traditional indigenous forms of organization, and although it established some protections related to the land, it mentions nothing concerning other natural resources such as the forest, the underground resources or the waters. In terms of cultural and linguistic rights it was also substantially toned down (Bello 2004).

As stated by the *Mapuche-Lafkenche* leader José Santos Millao, on the day in which the Indigenous Law was approved in Congress (Saavedra, 2002):

> *"We must be absolutely clear and responsible to our people, the Chilean society and history, that the Law that today has been approved by Congress is not in accordance with the indigenous people of this country, for the simple reason that it is not conducive to our fundamental historical demands, which according to us, include constitutional recognition as a nation and a people with a territorial space and autonomy...this is a law*

which does not recognize our political participation in our own affairs."

The *CONADI* was supposed to be an indigenous-run executive organization and was expected to address pressing indigenous issues, such as land recovery and redistribution issues, as well as cultural and linguistic revitalization matters (including IBE), but this has not been clear. Although it has been able to do a few reassignments of state-owned land, favoring some Mapuche (Aylwin 2002), it has proved to be a government-controlled bureaucracy, dependant on the executive power which in occasions has replaced all of its indigenous members whenever they have not supported some Mega-projects proposed by the state to be constructed in the indigenous areas. In terms of the cultural and linguistic demands addressed by the *Ley Indígena,* besides enabling of the creation of an Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in the Ministry of Education in 1996 (which began operations with an initial budget of only two thousand dollars (2,000) for educational program development for the 8 different ethnic groups in the whole country (Williamson, 2002), and a few pilot programs taking place in rural schools in the Araucanía, with a minimum number of bilingual instructional materials and curricular support), not much more was seen before 1998 as an attempt for establishing an intercultural bilingual education public policy coming out of the state and its public education institutions (Williamson, 2002). Even today, although more funds have been allocated to the Ministry of Education's office of IBE programs, including a budget of almost 8 million dollars coming from the *"Orígenes"* program (Williamson, 2003), the existence of an intercultural bilingual education curriculum for the Mapuche and the recognition of IBE courses as an accredited subject, do not exist within the Chilean state educational policy. Until today IBE courses in Chilean schools (whenever they exist) remain in the category of "workshops" as optional enrichment hours, outside the main core curriculum courses (Painemilla, 2003).

In 1999, a group important Mapuche organizations, including Admapu, Identidad Lafkenche, Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco, Consejo de Todas las Tierras, Ñancucheo de Lumanaco y Coordinadora Mapuche Metropolitana, signed a document called *"La Proclama de Temuco"* in which they reiterated in a more aggressive way their current demands to the state (Saavedra, 2002). Again, their 16-point agenda included demands for a constitutional amendment to facilitate the recognition of the Mapuche as a nation within a territorial space, restitution of ancestral lands, degrees of political autonomy and participation in state policy-making that concerns Mapuche affairs, the creation of an indigenous parliament as a representative organ, the creation of mechanisms for developing cultural and linguistic rights (including IBE), and the application of strict rules for environmental regulations on the forestry and energy industry in the Araucanía.

Recently some efforts made to begin searching for a negotiated solution to the Mapuche demands can be seen as the *"Comisión de la Verdad y Nuevo Trato"* formed by representatives of all indigenous groups in the country and presided over by the former president, Patricio Aylwin. In 2003, they delivered an elaborate and detailed account of the indigenous demands and the possible solutions to them. Also, in 2006 a second *"Acuerdo de Nueva Imperial"* was signed between the incoming socialist president Michele Bachelet and the indigenous leadership, in which the recently-elected president agrees to make an important effort to obtain a constitutional recognition that would enable the Mapuche political autonomy, land recovery and cultural and linguistic rights. Up to this moment, though, not much has been seen in relation with these two initiatives, considered by many merely ways to diffuse political tensions, rather as real mechanisms for seriously addressing historical socio-political demands (Bello, 2004).

My perception coming from my field observations, and with each and every Mapuche with whom I talked, ranging from community members to educational and political leaders in state or government positions, all agreed that since the re-

establishment of democracy in 1990 until today, whatever the government and the state as done to satisfy the Mapuche demands has been too little and too late. The current frustration of the Mapuche people with the Chilean state continues to be as high as it has been for many years (Ancán, 2002, Bello 2004).

2.2.d. An internal complex panorama: A neocolonial state and the diversity of the cultural and linguistic traditions of the Mapuche people today

Although the first distinction between Mapuche and non-Mapuche (Chilenos of different southern European descents and of colonizers of other origins) arises as the first and most relevant category, it also becomes very important to mention that the Mapuche people, as an ethnic group in itself, cannot be seen as a single and clearly defined homogeneous and mono-cultural group. It has to be seen in its full complexity and diversity which is and has been a defining element in its internal group dynamics, and in its relations with other cultural and linguistic groups, including the Chilean state and mainstream culture (Bengoa, 2000).

Many variables have been added over time to the complexity of the initial four ancestral cultural groups who originally composed the Mapuche people of Chile: *Picunches, Williches, Pehuenches* and *Lafkenches*. Specially important for education and IBE programs is the linguistic variation in the Mapuche language (*Mapudungún)* which has been subdivided in seven major dialectical areas: *Picunches, Moluches, Pehuenches, Huilliches, Nagches, Wenteches* and *Lafkenches* (Bengoa, 2000). Language which has been transcribed into four different alphabets, in which its current writing takes place: the Alfabeto Mapuche Unificado, the Alfabeto Ranguileo, the Alphabeto CONADI and the Alfabeto Universidad Católica de Temuco (Mineduc/IBE, 2002). In addition , there are about 3.000 lineage-based rural communities spread across all the region of the *Araucanía,* which were established with the reservation system in 1883. Communities which besides their common

Mapuche ancestry, many times have very little in common in terms of their political, cultural and religious affiliations (Bengoa, 1985, 2000; Grebe, 1998).

Finally, in addition to this complex intra-grupal Mapuche dynamics, which in some cases trace their roots and differences back to early Pre-Columbian times, there is a new very important and clearly distinctive group of "Urban Mapuche" which has emerged in the cities starting in the second half of the XX century. They are a product of the Mapuche migratory process from rural spaces to the urban centers which began in the early 1930's (Ancán, 1994; Painequeo, 2002). This migratory process, with current characteristics of a Diaspora, has created a very distinct cultural group of urbanized Mapuche population, who are approximately an 80% of the total Mapuche population in the country (INE-Mideplan, 2002). This urban Mapuche population, which since the beginning of the process of migration 50 years ago, has developed particular forms of cultural and linguistic urban identity patterns, is defined by the fusion of their ancestral traditions coming from their original rural settings and their lives as low income city dwellers in the main five Chilean cities (Ancán, 1994; Cuminao, 1998).

The diversity and complexity of the intra-group dynamics of the Mapuche communities is also to be seen in the big amount of Mapuche socio-political organizations, which according to Foerster & Montecino (1988), Gacitúa (1992) and others, have played a central role in defining their social actions, political agendas, rescue and preservation efforts of culture and linguistic traditions, in rural and urban areas, but which have also important differences among them. These organization, although they have been key elements for enabling spaces for identity construction, have not been exempt from the internal complex dynamics and conflicts of the Mapuche communities-at-large, and have also been divided along religious, political and cultural lines not following a single cohesive stand. Organizations with a wide variety of ideological positions which have carried through time a number of contentious issues which, in the end, have caused internal divisions and, consequently

have weakened the collective Mapuche leverage and negotiating power as a single group, at a national scale (Foerster & Montecino, 1988). How to go about nationhood, autonomy, land restitution, cultural and linguistic recovery and IBE programs, are some of the key issues that have been and are still highly contested today, among Mapuche organizations, people and communities.

On the other hand, many current Mapuche organizations, although they have incorporated other influences within their structures and dynamics, such has political, ideological or trade union positionings, still maintain much of the ancestral ways of community organization based in kinship relations and elected traditional authorities (Bengoa, 2000).

Although the Mapuche people, culture and language, since pre-Columbian times until today, have always had important variations within it (Bengoa, 2000), it is the opinion of many experts in the field (and also mine), that after all differences, in the end, the complex Mapuche ethnic identity finally asserts itself as a single distinctive voice. In this sense, the historically complex in-group interactions of Mapuche people and organizations is articulated in a way which Bakhtin would call polyphony of voices (Emerson & Holquist, 1986). With all its internal divisions and diversity of ideological positions, the Mapuche people as a whole, ultimately speak as a single voice.

2.2.e Between a rock and a hard place: Current issues of land restitution in the Mapuche context

The unanswered demand for Mapuche land restitution is an especially difficult issue to address. There is no clear solution at sight, because the state does not own the former Mapucheland any more, nor does it have the resources to buy it at the current market price, in order to establish a serious land redistribution program as requested. Neither can the government expropriate and redistribute the land by law, as it did

during the *Reforma Agraria* in the 60s and 70s. Situation which became one of the main reasons that prompted the military dictatorship to take power through a bloody Coup d' Etat in 1973, which submerge the country for 18 years in the bloodiest dictatorship of its history. The current private owners of important amounts of land in the Araucanía that the Mapuche are claiming are the national and international financial venture capital investment conglomerates. They are clearly not willing to give away their lands for free nor to sell them for less than the current market price, which has increased to the most speculative amounts, due to the conflict and the pressures over the state to buy land for redistribution purposes.

The solution proposed by some Mapuche radical organization to invade former ancestral territory has become another dead-end road, as trespassing activities are being sanctioned with the harshest national security laws, and some Mapuche leaders have been incarcerated and judged under the rigors of the anti-terrorist laws established by the military dictatorship in the mid-1970s (Aylwin, 2002; Diario La Tercera, 2004).

The issues of land restitution, as well as that of granting political and territorial autonomy to the Mapuche people, have really no solution in sight. As such they have been historically treated as "political hot potatoes" during the last four governments and by the presidents of the *Concertación* (two Christian Democrats and two center-left-socialist governments currently in power). These governments have been quite aware of the dilemma that they face in relation with the land restitution issue. Accordingly they have decided to address the Mapuche demands in a very elusive way, basically aimed more to release the political pressure and keep the Mapuche leadership at a low profile of discontent, as they see no possibilities of dialogue concerning this issue with the powerful traditional economic sectors which currently own the land in the Araucanía and which also have an important impact through their lobbying in Congress in the decision-making processes of the state.

On the other hand, the Mapuche leadership has steadfastly given first priority to the demands for nationhood, territorial autonomy and land restitution over all other demands for cultural and linguistic rights (Aylwin, 2002). By placing all these demands in a single package, in which either all or none of them succeeds, the cultural and linguistic rights debate such as IBE development is linked to the land restitution and political autonomy demands. So they are very soon at the same dead-end where the controversy of land restitution is stuck.

In a nutshell, the current dilemma of the Mapuche situation in Chile is the following: on the one hand, the Mapuche leadership demands back their ancestral lands and want to create an autonomous nation in them and will not negotiate other points of their agenda until these demands are acknowledge. On the other hand, the powerful economic conglomerates and landowners of the main resources in the Araucanía today say that they have no intentions of giving away their lands and resources which are legally documented as their property. They are clear in not being willing to give their property neither to the Mapuche nor to anybody that is not willing to pay the market price. Finally, the state-government, currently run by a socialist coalition with a clear social sensibility to the Mapuche demands and issues, is rendered powerless by not being able to buy the land for redistribution and not being able to infringe on the constitution by expropriating the land by means not established by the law. Meanwhile it is forced in maintaining the legal and constitutional status of the corporations while repressing via public law enforcement agencies the "radicalized" Mapuche factions which have attempted to take justice into their own hands, by invading the land that they consider to be theirs by ancestral traditions, but which today are the private property of large financial conglomerates.

A recent loan of US$ 130,000,000 dollars from the Interamerican Development Bank to the Chilean state for indigenous community development, which is being implemented through the program "*Origenes*", which has addresses issues and urgent indigenous needs in the areas of education, health and community development has

renew some hopes for achieving some of the cultural and linguistic demands of the Mapuche. But an air of frustration permeates the whole environment of the traditionally tense relationships between the Chilean state and the indigenous populations, specifically in the Mapuche context in the region of the Araucanía.

The recently elected socialist president Michelle Bachelet, in the name of the *Concertación* signed again an agreement in the city of Nueva Imperial (2006). In it she promised to push strongly from the executive office, for the approval of a constitutional amendment that will enable the recognition of the Mapuche people as a Nation and for their cultural and linguistic rights, but the results are yet to be seen, because similar proposal was made by the Christian Democrat, former president Patricio Aylwin in the early 1990's in the same city with an agreement with the same name, and after 15 years there is not really much that the Mapuche leadership is willing to account for that project.

2.1.f. The Mapuche Diaspora as a strategy for survival: migration, poverty and identity in urban spaces

Traditionally, indigenous cultures in Latin America have been defined by their presence in rural spaces. But from the middle of the XX century radical changes in agricultural production and land tenure structures in the rural areas, have forced many indigenous people to migrate to the cities in search of better economic opportunities Bengoa, 2002; Grebe, 1998).

In this sense, the Mapuche people of Chile, whose initial migration towards the cities began in the late 1930s, is a paradigm of a Diasporic migration into the main urban centers of the country (Saavedra, 2002). The added demographic pressure over limited amounts of land and resources in the rural Mapuche communities has created high levels of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, poor health conditions and social marginality. This eventually pushing its rural populations towards migration as the

only way out of the difficult economic situation in which they live (Grebe, 1998). The census of 1992 and 2002 (INE-Mideplan) indicates that today almost 80% of the Mapuche population lives in urban areas far from their ancestral territories, including Santiago (the capital city) in which almost 50% of the total Mapuche population lives (Bengoa y Sabaj, 1997; Saavedra, 2002; INE, 2002). Bello, Marimán et al. (1997), argue that only 16 % of the Mapuche population still lives in their ancestral territories of the Araucanía.

According to Saavedra (2002), although the conversion of the Mapuche people into poor peasants in rural areas and into impoverished migrants and proletarians in the cities was a tendency which had begun earlier than the military dictatorship took power in 1973. It was at this point in which it began intensifying as the neo-liberal economic model began taking a strong hold of the Chilean economy. This radically transformed the mode of production of the region of the *Araucanía* in the early 1980s, as the traditional agricultural oligarchy sold their lands to national and international agro-industrial capital conglomerates. This is how, in the late 1980s, of the 31 *comunas* (districts) within the *Araucanía*, 15 with the highest Mapuche concentration in the country, were classified at a national level as areas of "extreme poverty" (Saavedra, 2002).

Starting with the early ethnographic studies of Mapuche migrants to Santiago, done by Munizaga in 1961, 1964 and 1971 and the socio-political studies of Berglung in 1977, this migratory process has been well studied by Chilean scholars, including Bengoa and Valenzuela who conducted in 1983, an important study of 200 Mapuche migrant families in urban and rural places. These studies were followed by the work of Oyarce, Romaggi and Vidal (1983), Grebe (1998), and Saavedra (2002) from which clear patterns of the Mapuche Diaspora to the cities emerged.

First, the Mapuche population that leaves their communities is young, with 40% being less than 16 years old and only 7% being older than 64 (Grebe, 1997). An important percentage of these migrants are women with low educational levels who

have deserted their rural schools without completing their elementary education in order to move to the urban areas (Grebe, 1997). Others have deserted secondary schools in the cities to which they had moved for the very reason of completing their secondary education. The pattern of migration takes place through an immediate relative who gives the migrant support upon their arrival to the city, which in terms has created in the cities, distinct urban Mapuche urban communities formed by migrants coming from similar rural areas (Abarca, 2001).

According to Grebe (1998), having abandoned their rural school at an early age and arriving to extremely unreceptive urban environments, Mapuche functional illiteracy has remained near 57%, which makes the possibilities of social mobility extremely difficult. Agreeing with Bengoa and Valenzuela (1983), Grebe (1998) also argues that social mobility has seldom been possible for more than a 10% of the migrant Mapuche population. Nonetheless, in terms of educational statistics, the urbanized Mapuche population already living in the cities shows higher levels of formal education than their rural counterparts.

Another important factor to mention is that within Mapuche communities there is no schooling beyond 8th grade *(Educación Básica)*. So youngsters between the ages of 13 and 16-years old, are forced to migrate to urban centers to complete their middle and high school education. Thus, the migratory process begins at a very early age, and although these young migrant people remain in close contact with their families and their communities during weekends, the departure from their homes has already begun. Many finish their middle and high school education in the cities, and remain working or studying in urban centers. Very few Mapuche people ever return to live permanently in their communities of origin before retirement.

My fieldwork experience and my conversations with many Mapuche youngsters in the school at Piedra Alta indicated very clearly the desire of the majority of the students to migrate towards the cities to further their schooling. All youngsters in Piedra Alta with whom I spoke about the way in which they envisioned their future,

said that returning only for visits to their communities of origins was the preferred choice, because living a good life in the communities was not a viable alternative.

On the other hand, the Mapuche migrant's arrival to the cities, has increased the number of people living in poverty in the low income, shanty-town areas located in the periphery of the urban centers. Dislocated from their ancestral lands, which is a key component of Mapuche identity, culture and language and having replaced the extended family by the nuclear family in the urban environment, the Mapuche migrant experience to the city becomes a very challenging and alienating experience (Bengoa, 2000; Añiñir, 2005).

The urbanization and proletarization processes taking place among the Mapuche in the last 30 years, have had a tremendous negative impact on the Mapuche cultural and linguistic transmission and identity formation processes in the cities, which defined by their Eurocentric approaches become harsh and unwelcoming places to the cultural heritage and the "indigenous otherness" that Mapuche migrants bring with them (Curivil, 1999). Both processes of assimilation and resistance to the Chilean mainstream dominant culture is especially strong in the new generations of Urban Mapuche who have been born and raised in the cities. These new generations have developed patterns of acculturation leading them either to deny their ancestral cultural traditions or to reaffirm and recover them in the face of the intense discriminatory pressures of the environment (Painequeo, 2002). In this sense I was able to perceive, among the urbanized Mapuche youth in Santiago, a similar dynamic of cultural production (Levison, Foley & Holland, 1996) which takes place among Hispanic immigrants and Latino youths and their new cultural environments and schools in the U.S. (Valenzuela, 1999; Trueba, 2000; Suarez-Orozco, 2000).

Some Mapuche organizations do promote cultural affairs and some traditional events in urban spaces, despite the fact that in general Chilean cities have very little sensitivity towards indigenous issues, especially related to culture and language. In Santiago in 2004, where supposedly almost 50% of the total Mapuche population

currently lives, there is not a single IBE program which goes beyond being cultural awareness workshops, phrased as extracurricular activities in schools. As some studies of Urban Mapuche youth identity construction process are emerging and documenting this situation (Calfio & Jimenez, 1996) what comes clear is that the cultural and linguistic loss of indigenous identity among migrant Mapuche youth living in the cities is part of a very strong process of assimilation (Cuminao & Moreno, 1998; Curivil, 1999).

Another important dimension of the current urban Mapuche experience has been the case of the Mapuche intellectual elite which has developed in the Chilean cities and also in several European and Latin American countries where an important number of Mapuche leaders became political refugees during the years of the military dictatorship (1973-1990). Important intellectual urban Mapuche groups which have articulated the current Mapuche identity and political demands at a broader national and international level are part of the intellectual elites living in urban spaces in Chile or exile abroad. Important centers for Mapuche research are not only based in Santiago and Temuco, but also in Sweden *(Ñuke Mapu)* and Holland *(Rehue Foundation)*. Also an amount of intellectual Mapuche production comes from Mapuche intellectuals living in Mexico and Argentina.

Chapter 3: The Mapuche-Lafkenche Area of Indigenous Development of Lake Budi

3.1. The regional economic context of the Araucanía and the Mapuche people

According to the CASEN (2005) poll, a national survey on income and living conditions in Chile, the region of the Araucanía (IX), is the poorest region in the country with up to 34 % percent of people living below the poverty line. With a 24 % of indigenous population, it has the areas with the highest Mapuche concentration in the country (Williamson, 2005). The United Nations' Program for Development (2000) established that the Mapuche people of the Araucanía have the lowest rates of education, health and income with an average of approximately 65,000 pesos ($110 US dollars) per month, in a country in which the average income per capita is ten times higher (Mideplan/Casen, 2005).

The situation of the children in this region shows the serious consequences of this reality. A study conducted in 2003 by the United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Chilean Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN) also placed the region of the Araucanía as the lowest in the country in terms of education, habitation, income and health of children. Among other things, this study showed that in the Araucanía, one out of two children (48.9%) lives below the poverty line, as opposed to one in three, which is the national standard.

According to Williamson (2005), the comparison showing exclusion and marginalization was taken to the extreme when comparing the Mapuche standards of living in the communities of Ercilla or Puerto Saavedra in the Araucanía, with the middle and high-income areas in the capital Santiago (Las Condes or Vitacura). A study conducted by Amigo et al., (2001) in the region of the Araucanía, indicated that at the end of the decade of the 1990's death mortality among Mapuche children was almost double than the national average (15 per 1000 births as opposed to 9 per 1000

at the national level). This study also showed that development indicators related with health matters, such as nutrition and normal growth, were the lowest in the areas where the *Mapudungún* language is dominant, in the municipalities of Lumaco, Puerto Saavedra, Curarrehue, Ercilla, Lonquimay y los Sauces.

Saavedra (2002), as other scholars, agrees that the worse statistics in Chile concerning poverty, health and education are to be found among the rural and urban Mapuche, but they argue that there is not a separate Mapuche economy and both the migrant groups in the cities and the ones that remained in their ancestral rural territory are part of the larger Chilean economic system and its work force.

According to the Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP), an approximate 47% of the land in the Araucanía is used in an agricultural production mode of basic subsistence. Of this percentage, 30% are *"minifundios"* (micro-land-plots) of less than 3 acres in the hands of Mapuche families, mainly surviving with very little or none possibilities for autonomous development (Vitale, 1999). Only 33% of the land in the region of the Araucanía is considered to be exploited by agricultural forms of production that are considered to be competitive in the national and international markets and have possibilities of generating capital (Williamson, 2005).

3.1.a. *Áreas de Desarrollo Indígena* (ADI) as focal points for indigenous community development

The *Areas de Desarrollo Indígena* (ADI) in Chile are geographical spaces of high indigenous concentration which were established as legally protected areas by the state after the approval of the *Ley Indígena* of 1993. This was done to protect indigenous communities and their ecological environments, which have a common history, culture, language and possibilities of similar development. The concept of ADI was also established by the state to enable a clear focus for development programs to be implemented within them (Muñoz, 1999). Currently, there are five

Areas of Indigenous Development (ADI) in Chile: two in the northern regions, in the *Aymara* and *Atacameño* context, and three in the south, in the region of the Araucanía in the *Mapuche* context. The *Mapuche-Lafkenche* locality of Piedra Alta, where I did my field research for this dissertation is located within the *Area de Desarrollo Indígena del Lago Budi* (map 2).

Although the concept of establishing protected areas for indigenous development was initially well-received by the indigenous leadership and the indigenous communities-at-large, the further development and implementation of this concept has not been exempt from controversy. These legally protected areas were intended by many indigenous leaders to become embryonic places of territorial autonomy, with self-controlled and organized forms of indigenous governance and community participation in collective decision-making processes. That was the original intention of the initial bill of law presented to Congress in 1991 for the approval of the concept of Areas of Indigenous Development. This is how the bill referred to the concept of "Indigenous Territory of Development" which had a much stronger ethno-political connotation than did that of "Indigenous Area of Development" the term finally approved by Congress in 1993 (Orígenes, 2005).

The watering down of the initial intentions of the ADIs (as cultural, linguistic and geographical territorial spaces with a certain degree of autonomy, indigenous community control and participation), has created an ambivalence towards this concept among the Mapuche communities and leadership in the field. Today, after 10 years of their creation, the ADIs although they have in one way or another contributed to focusing the state's public policies and economic development policies towards the indigenous populations living in them, have become a subject of intense debate regarding their reform. As it stands now, the support for the concept of the ADI's has been substantially eroded among the indigenous people and leadership in Chile, for the ADIs are criticized as not been able to create institutionalized forms of indigenous

community governance and participation and, at the same time, they are seen has manipulated by the state's political interests (Muñoz, 1999; Orígenes, 2005).

Despite this criticism, *CONADI,* the national state office for indigenous affairs and the program *Orígenes,* has allocated more than US$ 133 million dollars in development projects in the five ADIs in the country (Aylwin, 2005). Also in matters concerning cultural and linguistic recovery, the *CONADI* in conjunction with the Ministry of Education has also developed a series of important initiatives related with IBE programs and language revitalization projects in these areas, by promoting IBE programs, indigenous art and culture and the preservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage in these indigenous areas (Aylwin, 2005).

Tension remains high in the ADIs, and in many cases there has been a breakdown in communication between the indigenous leadership and the state officials in these areas (Orígenes, 2005). The complexity of this situation can be seen especially in relation to the state's addressing issues of "indigenous poverty" and "sustainable development programs." On the one hand, the Chilean state has not had a clear agenda about how to approach development with identity and indigenous participation in these areas and has remained within its habitual centralized, bureaucratic and colonial approaches towards indigenous issues (Williamson, 2005). On the other hand, it has been met by debilitated networks of a Mapuche civil society and of indigenous communities and leaderships debilitated after 20 years of dictatorship and political repression, historical low levels of education and forced diasporic migration, which have all substantially undermined the social networks and availability of trained human resources existing in the indigenous communities today (Durston, 2002; Orígenes, 2005).

A recent report of the *Programa Orígenes* (2005), concludes that, although the investment of this program in the ADI-Budi has contributed to improving the levels of well-being of the population of these areas, it has not been able to establish permanent forms of indigenous governance and administration which could enable sustainable

forms of development in accordance with the cultural characteristics of the Mapuche people-at-large. Although the *Programa Orígenes* for many critics has not achieved the expected results in the ADI-Budi, it has made important contributions in the improvement of the community development programs in health and in education for which it was originally conceived (Aylwin, 2002).

3.1.b. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the ADI-Budi

In 1999 the Ministry of Planning (Mideplan), in conjunction with the National Office of Indigenous Affairs (CONADI) and the Municipalities of Puerto Saavedra and Teodoro Schmidt, produced a very detailed assessment of the socio-economic, cultural, educational and health situation of approximately 100 Mapuche-Lafkenche communities in the *Area de Desarrollo Indígena del Budi* (including Piedra Alta), as a form of socio-economic diagnosis for future development planning in that area. The statistical indicators about the *Mapuche-Lafkenche* communities existing within the ADI-Budi are very similar, so the main results of this research were published as a single group, in a document called *Línea de Base del Área de Desarrollo Indígena del Lago Budi (1999).* Other *Mideplan* studies and economic assessments of the area with more specific statistical data, include the "Encuesta Casen 2005" a yearly economic indicator and the "National Census and Indigenous Statistics of 2005" (INE/Orígenes, 2005), which also have detailed socio-economic indicators of this indigenous area.

In the following paragraphs, I intend to make a combined brief summary of the main information related to the ADI-Budi contained in these three main reports, which are used by many public and private development agencies, as a reference on the socio-economic indicators of that area.

The Lake Budi area was designated by the Chilean government as an Area of Indigenous Development (*Area de Desarrollo Indígena*) on March 10, 1997. Located in the southern Chile on the Pacific coast, near the city of Puerto Saavedra, 50 miles

south-west of the City of Temuco (map 2), it is the geographical area with the highest Mapuche concentration in the country (64.3%). With a population of 13,211 habitants living within a surface of 19,000 acres**,** the ADI-Budi includes parts of the *Comunas de Saavedra* and *Teodoro Schmidt.*

The Mapuche-Lafkenche communities that live in the ADI-Budi are organized in traditional *Lofs* (groups of communities) with a common history, culture and language. According to the *Encuesta Casen* (Mideplan, 2005) the ADI-Budi with 77.6 % rural population, includes the two poorest municipalities in Chile (Saavedra and Teodoro Schmidt), municipalities in which 59% of their habitants are classified has living in "extreme poverty," with an average monthly income of $60 US dollars, among the 10% of the population that has a fixed income due to paid employment. According to Saavedra (2002), the subsidies and pensions given by the state in this area represent 50.6 % of the monetary incomes of the people in the ADI-Budi. The income figures for this area (average US $720 a year) contrasts sharply with the estimated US $12,700 a year, which is the average Chilean per capita income (Mideplan/Casen, 2005).

The impact of the reduction of 95% of the Mapuche land holdings which took place after the war of the *Pacificación de la Araucanía* in 1883, in which the Chilean state reduced each Mapuche family to an average of 6.1 acres within the reservations, is also seen here in the ADI-Budi, with great intensity. Today, after 124 years of the resettlements into reservations, the economic situation of the Mapuche people has arrived to a crisis, due to the constant land divisions that has taken place through generations and also due to many Mapuche selling their property to land speculators, as well. Today, the 80% of the Mapuche population of the ADI Budi who has migrated to the cities, does not own land anymore. The average rural Mapuche family of five that remains on their ancestral territories does not own more than 2 acres of land (Ancán, 2002) called *chacras,* which often can hardly sustain their dwellers (Namancura, 2001).

In the ADI-Budi, agricultural production takes place on small plots of land only productive for agriculture up to 60%. In 1999, the vast majority of land in the area (1,277 properties), were small patches between 1 and 6 acres. Only 790 properties were between 6 and 20 acres. More than half of the total agricultural production (49.1%) is destined for self-consumption and only 30% of it goes to the local agricultural market. Land being divided into so many mini-parcels is a big impediment for agricultural production which requires larger extensions of land. This limitation is intensified by the very stony and sandy soil not being of good and a topographic setting with steep levels of inclination. Added to this, the salt water of the lake cannot be used for irrigation nor drinking, so the fresh water for agriculture, animal and human consumption must be obtained from streams and wells. However, the water resource is not scarce. The vast majority of the agricultural production goes to potatoes while a small amount of land is dedicated to animal husbandry and forestry. Of the families in the region, 71% have an average of 11 hens, 47% have 3 pigs, 45% have 3 oxen and 34% own an average of 2 cows. The average land that is destined for forestry is 1.5 acres per family and the eucalyptus and the pine are both the preferred trees. Some non-commercial fishing takes place in the lake, but it is not abundant according to 92% of the families involved in this activity. Only 263 families of some 1,700 have one member involved in fishing as a subsistence activity, totaling with this a 345 individuals involved full-time in fishing activities in the whole lake area. About 69% of families involved in fishing have a boat and 95% of them are interested in knowing more about fish and algae farming.

The houses in the area are built mainly of wood with metal roofs, and 14% of them have dirt floors. An average of 4 persons live in each house and the vast majority of families are owners of their houses (28% has purchased their house with state subsidies). Wood is the main source for cooking and heat; although 41% of houses have gas stoves they are not used. As 58% of the houses do not have running water inside the house, wells at a near distance supply the water for drinking and for other

needs in the house. An 81% of households do not have septic tanks for disposing human waste and only 38% of them are connected to a network of rural potable water and 34% of houses do not have electricity.

The population is young, 45% younger than 20 years old and 70% bellow 39 years old. In the communities, the average age of women is 31-years old and 30 for men. Due to migration, only 35% of the population in the communities is between 20 and 50 years of age. Divorce is only to be seen in the 1.9% of the population, while 39% are unmarried and 36% still live in extended family dwellings. Catholics make up 67% of the population, followed by 25 % of Evangelicals and 6% agnostics. No statistics were mentioned nor was the question about the alliance of the population to the Mapuche ancestral religion asked in these surveys. It is my perception that a very high percent of the Mapuche population profess and practices both; the Catholic faith and the Mapuche ancestral religion, without major philosophical contradictions. But this is not the case of Evangelical and Protestant Mapuche, who seemed to be quite opposed and detached from their ancestral Mapuche religious practices.

The main ritual traditional ceremonies that are still practiced in the area are the *Nguillatún* (Thanks-giving to the Gods), *We-Xipantú* (Mapuche New Year), *Palín* (ritual competitive sport similar to hockey on grass), *Machitún* (healing ceremonies of the Machis-shamans), *Llellipún* (prayer to the Gods), *Mingako* (collective communal work), *Mafún* (traditional Mapuche marriage) and *Eluwün* (traditional burials). According to the *Línea de Base* report (1999), 23.2% of the population always participates in these traditional ceremonies, while 13.6 % sometimes participates, and 52.3% never does. The *Nguillatún,* the main Mapuche celebration, has the most important level of community participation with a 23%. This is followed by the *We-Xipantú* with 21% of families celebrating this event. The Mapuche traditional ceremonial sites where ancestral offerings take place are located in 17 communities in the ADI-Budi, and they include sites such as the *Nguillatuwe, Paliwe, Rewe de Machi, Kahuin and Huincul*. The locality of *Ronguipulli* near the *Lof* of Piedra Alta is one of

the communities that has the larger number of ceremonial sites in the ADI-Budi**.**

In terms of access to new technologies, it is estimated that in 2003, an approximate 40% of the indigenous population in urban spaces in Chile had access to computers with 30% of all available computers having access to the internet. Nevertheless, this is not the case with the rural indigenous populations which fewer than 20% of this group have access to computers and not more than 9% of the computers available for them, have access to the Internet. The school of Piedra Alta was one of the few places in the ADI-Budi where internet access existed for the nine nearby communities.

In terms of health coverage in the ADI-Budi area, the situation looks better: 92% of all indigenous people in the area have some form of state sponsored health coverage through FONASA, a social security program that gives free health care to low-income residents and indigenous people. Only 5.3% of the Mapuche population has no medical coverage. Of the 1,928 cases of needed medical assistance recorded in the ADI-Budi during a period of 6 months, 76.4% received medical attention in the hospital of Puerto Saavedra, 7 % received medical assistance from the traditional Mapuche shamans *(Machis)* and 16.5% did not received assistance at all, mainly because of the difficult conditions of transportation from their homes to the health care centers in rural settings. However, during the same 6 months of the study, only 6.9% of the population had dental assistance. Happily, 96.4% of deliveries in the hospital were supervised by a doctor.

At a national level, the indigenous population presents significantly more participation in social organizations than does the non-indigenous population in the country. This happens especially in the rural areas, such as the ADI-Budi, where more than 55.4% of people belong to some sort of social organization of either religious or sports affiliation. Despite, the higher levels of association presented by the indigenous population, their participation is not related to ethnic or political organizations, which remains comparatively low, especially among the urban population where fewer than a

1.3% of the Mapuche in the cities participate in associations that have a clear political character. Among the rural population this number increases somewhat to 14.4%, but still remains comparatively low.

3.1.c. The historical context of the ADI-Budi

> *"Queremos desarrollar una propuesta endógena de nuestras propias comunidades, siguiendo los ejemplos que ocurren en otras partes del mundo, ya que vemos que es posible proponer un nuevo ordenamiento territorial en el caso de nuestra Provincia de Arauco. Consideramos que aquí tenemos el derecho de administrar los asuntos que nos conciernen y de controlar territorialmente nuestra existencia, como una manera de hacer perdurar nuestra cultura, forma de vida y de entender el mundo, ya que con esta especificidad que nos caracteriza, somos un aporte para el bien y la paz social que busca la humanidad. Queremos proponer esta experiencia ya que consideramos que hoy no existe una moderna política indígena gubernamental, y que es consecuencia de ello que se producen agudos conflictos. Queremos que se nos trate como sujetos históricos adultos, capaces de ordenar y desarrollar su propia vida en sociedad".*
>
> *Propuesta Mapuche Lafkenche (1)*

Since early times, the *Lafkenmapu (Land of the Sea and Lakes),* the *Mapuche-Lafkenche* ancestral territory located in the West geographical area of the Mapuche universe, that is the areas of the Pacific Ocean coastal line and lakes has been an isolated area with difficult access from both land and sea. It has been an area which has had a clear geographical, ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity, which is the current referent stressed today by its indigenous leaders and communities, as part of

the political strategy deployed in their dealings with the Chilean state.

Although historical knowledge about the *Mapuche-Lafkenche* communities in the Lake Budi area, had not being well-documented until after the war of the *Pacificación de la Araucanía* in 1883 by the autobiographical work of Pascual Coña *Testimonio de un Cacique Mapuche* (1930), the history of the Mapuche-Lafkenche communities in the ADI-Budi is not different than that of the other historical events concerning the Mapuche people, that took place after the war. That is, the Chilean state after 1883 occupied the Mapuche territory and relocated the Mapuche communities in reservations (Reducciones Indígenas) *as* it auctioned, sold or gave as concessions to Chilean and European colonizers, the rest of the land seized from them. The titles of property of the land that indigenous people where supposed to receive through the *Títulos de Merced* for the six acres that each Mapuche family had been assigned within the reservations after the war, took a very long time to be issued, as the Mapuche in the ADI-Budi were constantly relocated to the less desirable agricultural lands around the lake basin.

In an historical context in which the colonizers were privileged above the local indigenous population who had lost their lands after a recent armed conflict, a series of systematic abuses against the Mapuche people also began to take place, as speculators both national and European began to flood the area in search of the open bounty for free land. This is how the Spaniards, Eleuterio Domínguez and Francisco Sánchez formed in 1902, the *Empresa Colonizadora del Budi*, which received from the government the concession for the whole area of Lake Budi. Converted into the main immigration agent of the area, Domínguez obtains 150.000 acres between the rivers Imperial and Toltén in the lake Budi area (map 2), and agrees with the government that he will bring 300 colonizing families from Spain to be relocated in the lake area (Bello, 1993).

Eventually, Dominguez and his colonizing enterprise, failed to comply with the agreement with the government and only 88 immigrant families arrive to the area

from Spain. Dominguez was forced to return part of the land to the authorities, but he still managed to retain 43,000 acres as part of his newly acquired personal wealth. After Dominguez's premature death in 1907, the state gives the concession of the Lake Budi area to a series of other colonizing speculators converted into landowners, and newly arriving colonizing families continued to settle in the area. At this point, the growing production of corn and the exploitation of the natural virgin forest of the area converted the region of the Araucanía into the *"Barn of Chile."* The city port of Puerto Saavedra became the main port for export and shipping of the rich agricultural production coming out of the Araucanía.

In the early XX century, fortunes based on land speculation and agricultural production on a large scale were rapidly made during the prosperity boom brought about by the indiscriminate exploitation of the natural resources in former Mapuche ancestral lands. Today, we can see that very little of that wealth remained in the Lake Budi and of Puerto Saavedra area, a once booming port from which important fortunes were made in shipping. Today, Puerto Saavedra is a sleepy, single-paved-road town almost destroyed and land-locked by a Tsunami in 1960, which encompasses the sad metaphor of this area: from one of the riches ports of export of wood and wheat in the Chile of the early 1900s, it includes today the two poorest districts of the country, which happen to be also the ones with the highest Mapuche concentration (Casen/Mideplan, 1998; INE/Orígenes, 2005).

3.1.d. Traditional authorities, organization and Mapuche-Lafkenche culture in the ADI-Budi

In terms of the current socio-political organizations of the Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi, there are two main forms of political structure which take place at the same time: First, there is the *formal, official* and *externally-defined* organizational structure, established by the Chilean state. This organization is based in

the local governments of the *Municipios* and *Localidades* (districts) with elected officials, such as the Major and the Councilmen, as formal authorities. This is the official organizational structure used by the Chilean state, international and national development agencies, NGO's, churches and other non-Mapuche organizations working with the Mapuche people in rural communities. Second, there are the informal, internal and traditional Mapuche ancestral form of community organization and governance pattern. This is based in patrilinear lines of descent which group the Mapuche communities into *Lofs* (groups of communities) and *Rewues* (groups of *Lofs*), where the traditional figures of the *Longko* (Chief), the *Machi* (Shaman), and the *Ngenpins* (Master of Ceremonies) and in recent historical terms, the *Werkenes* (Messengers) are the main traditional authorities.

It is particularly difficult to define the traditional authorities of the Mapuche-Lafkenche people in the ADI-Budi, similar to defining the Mapuche traditional authorities-at-large. This is because beyond the first four basic levels of Mapuche traditional organization: the Ruka (extended family dwelling unit), the community (lineaged based), the *Lof* (as several communities), and the *Rewe* (as several *Lofs*), there is no clear consensus in the literature as to what follows these four categories as higher forms of traditional political organization. The literature is not consistent with clear definitions of larger units, such as the *Aillarewe* (groups of nine Rewes) or *Lafken-Mapu* (Mapuche-Lafkenche territorial units grouping several *Aillarewes*). According to Melville (1976a), an important part of the confusion about defining the Mapuche traditional forms of political-administrative organizational units which go above the *Lof*, are derived from different names being used for the same organizational units by different sources. What is clear at this point is that the basic unit of Mapuche ancestral organization is the Ruka, then the community, followed by the *Lof* as a group of communities, which is followed by the *Rewe* as a group of *Lofs* (Díaz-Coliñir, 1999). Beyond that, there is much overlapping of opinions.

Without going into this debate, what I observed during my field work was that traditional organizational patterns existed and were clear to identify up to the levels of the *Lof* as several communities structured in one political unit, headed by a *Longko*/Chief and and including the religious presence of *Machis* (Shamans) and the political presence of *Werkenes* (Messengers) and other traditional ceremonial people. But beyond that, however, it did not appear to be very clearly defined. Although, the concept of *Lof* is still valid, as a geographically and culturally defined space formed by several Mapuche communities linked by lineages, the forced relocation of the Mapuche into 3,000 reservations, created a totally different organizational structure within Mapuche society compared to the one which existed before the war. The resettlement of the Mapuche communities in *Reducciones* after 1883 in the ADI-Budi as in other places was established on the basis of the economic and political criteria of distribution of the Chilean state to favor the interest of the arriving European and Chilean settlers. Very little concern was given to traditional Mapuche political organizational patterns and to the natural boundaries and topographic characteristics of the terrain that had defined the ancestral community boundaries.

In terms of traditional forms of organization currently valid in the ADI-Budi, the *Consejo de Werkenes (Pu Lof Budi)* has become an important instance of the re-organization of the political role of the traditional Mapuche authorities. This *Consejo,* in a certain way, has become a diffuse embryonic form of an indigenous Counsel of Representatives whose members are elected by direct vote, and who represent each of the seven districts established in the formal state organization chart of the ADI-Budi. The numbers of *Werkenes* elected to the Consejo (approximately 200) depends on the number of people in each district represented. During the first two years of its formation in 2001-2002, the *Consejo de Werkenes* became a powerful and important instance of representation of the grassroots movement among the Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi, and an important political voice in the area. This was seen especially clear in the so called *Mesa Técnica del Lago Budi,* an instance of

negotiation between the communities and the state, in which the *Consejo de Werkenes* became the main voice of the Mapuche people and of the political agenda in the area. The *Consejo* also received important resources from the Programa Orígenes for community, health and education development in 2003.

As it stands now, the instances of Mapuche traditional political organization in the ADI-Budi are based in the communities and the *Lofs* (as a group of communities) with a political leadership at a wider level, organized as the *Consejo de Werkenes* and the *Consejo Territorial Lafkenche* which is the organization that groups the traditional *Longkos* as the traditional community political leaders. The influential standing of the *Consejo de Werkenes* lost prestige after the regional elections of 2004 in which many *Werkenes* obtained publicly elected positions in the government bureaucracy. Although this lead the *Consejo* to become discredited in the eyes of many communities as another instance of political favoritism in state politics, the *Consejo* remains as the most powerful political voice of the Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi.

3.2. The *Lof* (Communities) of Piedra Alta

> *From Puerto Saavedra, a single paved street and sleepy town of two thousand habitants, classified in 1998 as one of the two poorest municipalities in the country, there is a daily bus that connects with the rural Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi through a winding single lane dirt road. With some decaying buildings as testimony of its brief past glories and other still visible signs of the Tsunami that completely destroyed this port in 1960, the main plaza of this regional capital shows an enormous ceremonial Rewe (2), installed by the current Mapuche mayor in front of his office, as a clear symbol of the ethnic group which constitutes the majority of the population in this area. Before boarding an old bus, full of people in which only the chauffeur and I are non-Mapuche, I*

get the impression of being at a departing point towards a different country. The bus stop is in front of several provision stores where some passengers continue to buy cartons of wine legally prohibited in the indigenous area of development, and not far from where large groups of school children cramed around a few computers in the single-room public library, surf the web with frantic enthusiasm. Once leaving the town, after passing a hill in Boca Budi, a locality with a magnificent panoramic view of the the Pacific Ocean connecting with the lake, the Budi Bridge, which marks the beginning of the indigenous area, stands as a metaphor of the current modern times. It is very different from the one in which barges pulled by oxen carried vehicles and passengers across the water at the starting point of a trip that could take up to 4 hours to cover 50 miles of road. Built only in 2002, against strong community opposition, this bridge is the invisible border between the Mapuche and the Chilean (Winka) world in the ADI-Budi, divided by far more abyss-like differences than the stretch of water running under it. In the story of its conflictive construction, begun by a private company but ended by the Army Corps of Engineers, one can see the long-lasting and ever present oppositional relationship between the Chilean state and the Mapuche people.

A brief silence, as a kind of collective acknowledgement that what lies head of the bridge is a very different world from the one left behind, takes place on board the bus as it crosses the unassuming single lane construction, which also has the dubious honor of being the only stretch of paved road in the whole ADI-Budi. Soon after the crossing, the sounds of the Mapudungún language become livelier and louder on board, as if the language becomes empowered by arriving home on an old bus which moves slowly through beautiful rolling hills and precipitous declines

bordering the lake, stopping to leave off and pick up passengers and their cargoes of provision along the road. The puff of the motor into the air is the only engine sound in the basin, and its presence is announced at a distance by a cloud of dust. This is the daily public transportation vehicle that connects the many indigenous rural Mapuche-Lafkenche communities in this lake area, in which, it becomes clear to see, the highest concentration of Mapuche people in the country.

My field notes, 2004

The Mapuche *Lof* of Piedra Alta, formed by nine Mapuche-Lafkenche communities, is one of the 7 localities *(Lofs)* in which the ADI-Budi area is organized, as part of the Comuna de Saavedra, Provincia de Cautín in the IX region of the Araucanía. Piedra Alta, with a 94% of Mapuche population (Pérez, 1997), takes its name from a monumental stone located on its Pacific Ocean coastline beach area. To the east, it borders with the Lake Budi and to the west the Pacific Ocean. To the north lies the locality of Trawa-Trawa and to the south, the locality of Puaucho (map 3). The school of Piedra Alta, my research site (2002-2004), is located in the community of Conoco-Budi within the *Lof* of Piedra Alta (map 3).

The weather in the coastal land of southern Chile, is cold, humid and very rainy during winter (May to October), improving to sunny days with mild temperatures during spring and summer (September to April). Although Lake Budi is a salt water lake, water for agriculture and drinking in Piedra Alta has never been a major problem. It can be found in the innumerable streams and natural springs existing in the area. The majority of the Mapuche communities on the reservations of the ADI-Budi, including the nine communities in Piedra Alta, may date back to very early ancestral times. Their current legal status was established through the titles of property (*Títulos de Merced)*

given by the Chilean state, between 1902 and 1909, after the establishment of the reservation system in 1883.

With an average of 11 families per community, the 9 communities of the *Lof* of Piedra Alta have a population of approximately 462 habitants. Historically called *Raukenwe*, Piedra Alta was under the leadership of the *Ñizol Lonko* (principal Chief) Pascual Segundo Painemilla, from whom the community in Conoco-Budi takes its name at the point of its creation in 1903, and whose direct descendants were my informants.

Mapuche Communities in the Lof of Piedra Alta:

***Comunidades Indígenas/Reducciones* in Piedra Alta**

Name	Founder	Date	No.	Hectares
Pellad-Budi	Pascual Puelpan	1903	1752	93.85
Kawinfüdü	Francisco Trureo	1909	1835	36.08
Zoncolle Budi	Juan Painepan	1903	1750	*
Oño Oñoco	Ignacio Ñamcucheo	1909	1860	115.13
Conoco Budi	Pascual Segundo Painemilla	1903	1760	60.55
Huillinco	Manuel Huerapil	1909	1834	105.04
Remeco Budi	Juan Huaiquin	1903	1759	131.83
Trablanco	Antonio Ñeiculeo	1909	1874	190.98
Trablaco	Curin Alonso	1909	1821	53.75

* data unavailable

(Course, 2005)

The socio-economic characteristics of this locality and the conditions of life of its indigenous habitants are very similar to the other Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi, mentioned in the *Línea de Base* (1999) report. Likewise, the socio-cultural-political and ideological dynamics of conflict, negotiation and agreement between the Mapuche communities, the Mapuche leadership and the Chilean state authorities developing programs of economic development, health and education in that indigenous area are similar.

In economic terms, the situation is also the similar as that of other ADI-Budi communities mentioned before and other than the staff in the school and the health post, the rest of the population survives out of small-scale subsistence agriculture, horticulture and some basic animal husbandry and fishing.

Due to the decreasing production of small scale agriculture, up to 50% of the people in the ADI Budi, including the *Lof* of Piedra Alta, also depend for a living on state subsidies which are given monthly by the social security administration (Saavedra, 2002). These subsidies range from $20 to $65 US dollars a month and are given to families with children under the age of 18 and to senior citizens above 65.

Agricultural production, mainly at the subsistence level, is centered on wheat and potatoes, although peas and beans are also cultivated in small gardens called *Chakras.* Gardens also contain onions, shallots, garlic, spinach, chilies, coriander and small quantities of maize. Livestock, another Mapuche area of traditional interest, includes horses, few cows and especially oxen which are present for the heavy agricultural work. Sheep are herded among the families with larger plots of land, and pigs and chicken are owned, even by the poorest families. Many families also have turkey, geese and duck. Some subsistence fishing takes place in the ocean for sea bass, sea perch and flounder. A native species known as *Waykil* is fished on a small scale in the lake and a small crayfish known as *Machew* in *Mapudungún,* is considered as a delicacy. On the Pacific coast, there is also consumption of a sea weed called *Cochayuyo* and a small bright-red mollusk called *Piure.*

Since early Spanish colonial contact, horses have had a specially considered central place in the Mapuche culture as a part of economic status and as a warrior symbol. Today, besides the need for transportation and farm work, horses still have an important role and participation in the main ancestral rituals of thank-giving to the ancestral Gods in the *Nguillatún.* Although, due to the increasing reduction of available pastures and the increasing price of oats, fewer families own them today, but their presence is still important among the Mapuche. In terms of flora and fauna, a

large number of plants and herbs are used medicinally, especially by the *Machi* (Shaman) whose healing powers are based on them (2).

In the *Lof* of Piedra Alta we find a community center in each of the 9 communities, as well as both a Catholic and an Evangelical church, the schools of Piedra Alta and Deume (which belong to the Catholic Church and serve the 9 communities), a post office, a government health center and a municipal cemetery. Although some NGO's have several development projects and are involved in some community projects in this locality, they do not have any sort of infrastructure.

In general, the *Lofs* (localities) of the ADI-Budi, being Piedra Alta one of them, do not have any sort of central meeting point or market place around which the communities and population of each area could develop social and commercial activities. The town of Puerto Saavedra is the only place in which a nearby open air market takes place once a week and serves as a central meeting point. The population in the ADI-Budi lives within a pattern of widely-dispersed and occasionally isolated homesteads. This situation makes it very difficult for the visitor to see at a first glance, any existing boundaries and distributions of *Lofs* or communities in the area. The traditional Mapuche house called *Ruka*, which was the traditional extended family dwelling where up to 30 people used to live in ancestral times, has been replaced by independent single family houses constructed of wood, with a cement base and metal roof, which area staggered in different places across the lake. The few *Rukas* that remain today have been restored or recently built exclusively for tourism, recreational or commercial purposes. After a while one realizes that a number of houses, especially the ones near the bus stops in the road that connect to the town of Puerto Saavedra, have converted a front room into a small grocery store or a clandestine bar were wine and alcohol is sold illegally, because the consumption of alcohol is prohibited within the ADI-Budi limits.

At the initial first look at the rolling hills and houses widely dispersed around the lake basin, it also becomes very difficult to realize at first contact, that one is in a

Native American reservation with the highest concentration of Mapuche people in the country. With the exception of occasional groups of women who might be dressed in their traditional outfits on their way to an ancestral ceremony (which can be seen in the road during special occasions), there is no indication that one is located in one of the three legally protected areas of indigenous development in the Mapuche context. Clear indications of ancestral indigenous communities and past history through arqueological sites as can be found in indigenous areas of Mexico, Guatemala or Peru, do not exits here, where the settings look more like rural country settings than that of a native and indigenous context. The Mapucheness of the area did not come across to me in a very strong way at first contact, as the indigenousness of other places in Latin America had. It took me some time and a longer interaction with the people and the place to fully get the sense of being in Mapucheland. It took me some time to understand how the Mapucheness of Mapuche people, which although very strong in principles is not always obviously stated at first sight and in exterior symbols.

The six wooden, single-floor buildings of the school of Piedra Alta make up one of the largest constructions in the locality of Piedra Alta and, by being placed at the crossroad between the bus stop that connects to Puerto Saavedra, the medical center, the Church, and having also the only public telephone booth and the only internet connection in the area, has become by default, an important meeting place for families and community members, who sometimes also use the classroom facilities in the evening for meetings and social purposes. Recently several meeting rooms for community centers have been built in the ADI-Budi with funding of the *Programa Orígenes*, but they tend to attract a more politically defined group than does the school. So, with the exception of the school, a central point for gathering on a regular basis of the 9 communities in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta, does not exist, except for community ceremonial celebrations.

The ancestral community celebrations, such as the yearly *Nguillatún* or the more spontaneously organized ceremonies of the *Machitún* (shaman healings), *Mafün*

(weddings) or *Eluwün* (burials), are the only meeting points for the communities in Piedra Alta where people get together at a collective level. If not for this, *Lofs* as a whole remain fairly isolated. Nonetheless, people in them are in close contact with each other and have a very good sense of each other's life and what is happening in the ADI-Budi around them. Recently organized school sports competitions and cultural events, which include the ancestral ball game of *Palín*, have also become important opportunities for community gatherings, but they do not take place on a regular basis.

In terms of the ancestral authorities, the *Lof* of Piedra Alta has a *Longko* and several *Werkenes* as the traditional political authorities, but currently they do not have a *Machi* (Shaman) in-residence and share one with the neighboring locality of Puaucho, further south. The reasons for this was explained to me by Raúl Painemilla, a parent/community leader in Piedra Alta, who argued that they would rather have a trusted *Machi* outside of the community, than have one inside who does not know much about what she is doing, but knows much about the monetary value of each of her consultations. Historically, being a *Machi* (man or woman shaman) in a Mapuche community, besides having social status as a traditional authority held as the keeper of medical, herbal and spiritual indigenous knowledge, also has an important source of personal income. So, just like medical doctors in occidental cultures, *Machis* are also better off than the average Mapuche. Nevertheless today the re-ethnification processes and the re-invention of traditional practices, especially in the urban spaces has also created an intense debate, especially among the older generations, about the legitimacy of the new generations of *Machi* and of their skills and knowledge related to their ancestral healing and medicinal practices (Bacigalupo, 2001). This controversy has also been very intense in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta.

In terms of the migration to the cities, the *Lof* of Piedra Alta is no exception to the rule among the Mapuche people generally, in which approximately 80% of its population has already migrated to urban spaces in the last decades. This situation, can be seen clearly during certain times of the year when many who have move to live to

the cities, return to visit their families and the area becomes crowded. The school of Piedra Alta, as all schools located in Mapuche rural communities, does not have courses that go beyond 8th grade, so the students interested in pursuing schooling beyond that, which is the vast majority, migrate at an early age to continue their studies in urban centers.

3.2.b. Religious beliefs in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta

The long history of hybridity, syncretism and fusion between ancestral Native American religious cosmology and Christian occidental religious beliefs which has taken root in the indigenous communities in Latin America is a complex process that has also taken place among the Mapuche in Chile. This can bee seen clearly in the mix of Catholicism brought by the Spanish during early colonization and the ways in which Mapuche ancestral religious beliefs have blended and permeated the dominant traditional Christian beliefs when adopted by the Mapuche (Forster, 1993).

Traditional Mapuche cosmology and religion, which I address in more details in Chapter 5, is a complex construct and has been studied in depth by many Chilean anthropologists, including Foerster (1993), Bacigalupo (1997, 2001) and Barreto (1992). It plays a key role in interpreting the current situation of religion among the Mapuche-Lafkenche people in the ADI-Budi.

In the case of Piedra Alta, ancestral Mapuche religious ceremonial practices remain present in many traditional ceremonies celebrated by the communities, such as the *Nguillatún, Palín, Machitún, Eluwün, Mafún* and others, but the evangelization process which began with great intensity since early colonial times, has also had a profound impact in the Mapuche people lives. In the locality of Piedra Alta, are both Catholic and an Evangelical Church; and the presence of different Western Christian faiths as become very important in Mapuche people's lives.

According to the last national census (INE 2002), 64.8% of the Mapuche population professes to the Catholic faith, another 29.5% professes the Evangelical faith and a 5.7% professes other religious beliefs. However, in the case of the ADI-Budi, a socio-linguistic ethnographic research done by Canuti and Pedone (2002) from the University of Siena in Italy, about Piedra Alta's religious beliefs, shows that the population is 46.7 % Catholic, 33.3% Mapuche religion, 13.3% Evangelical, and a 6.7% declaring none. My informal observation about this point agrees with their result, because this *Lof* is different from others in the ADI-Budi, including an important group of Mapuche people with low levels of assimilation who are proud of their ancestral heritage, and only a small percentage of Evangelical people who are generally very opposed to all issues concerning ancestral Mapuche traditions. My perception was that the majority of people in the communities of Piedra Alta professed both the Catholic and the Mapuche religion at the same time, with no internal conflicts whatsoever. Especially considering that both cosmologies (Mapuche and Catholic) have many points in common (Foerster y Gunderman, 1996). For example when the sister of one of the *Kimches* in the school got married; she did so on the same day in three different ceremonies: First, getting the legal state license with a civil servant from the Municipality of Puerto Saavedra in her house, followed by a Catholic marriage blessed by a Catholic priest in the local Catholic church and finally the symbolic "kidnapping" of the bride at midnight by the groom on horseback, as part of the traditional marriage, *Mafün*, involving the "stealing" of the bride, which takes place when the groom is either not able or willing to pay the bride-price established by the bride's father.

It was very common to observe that the same *comuneros*, who went to the Catholic church for mass on a Sunday mornings, were the same who participated in the ancestral religious celebrations such as the *Nguillatún*, where they offered salutations to their ancestral gods in the sacred spaces of the *Nguillatue*, or to celebrate the wellness celebrations of the *Machi* (Shaman) in the *Machitún* healing ceremonies or to

celebrate the Mapuche New Year in the *We-Xipantú.* All of this with no contradictions nor ambivalence about their dual religious practices. *Kimches* addressed issues of indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* which is very linked to Mapuche cosmology and religion in the IBE programs of a school, which is owned and ran by the Catholic Church. This situation of apparent contradiction or of dual religious practice, was a common situation to see among those professing the Catholic faith, but not so, among those aligned with the Protestant or Evangelical faiths which were clearly opposed to traditional Mapuche religion.

Although Catholicism and Evangelism are now anchored deeply among the current Mapuche people and their spiritual life, they have very important differences in their approaches to issues of hybridity and co-existence between ancestral Mapuche religion and Christian beliefs. The Catholic Church in Chile has made an important change in its relationship with its indigenous people and culture and currently it has become far more tolerant towards Mapuche ancestral traditions. Its educational wing, the *Magisterio de la Araucanía*, which runs the largest network of schools in Mapuche communities, does it without any sort of fundamentalist position in relation to Christianity or the interterpretation of the Catholic dogmas, as it did until some years ago. Today the Catholic Church has a very different and tolerant approach towards Mapuche cosmology and ceremonial practices and this can be seen clearly in its schools, being Piedra Alta one of them. The idea of *Kimches* as Native American organic intellectuals in charge of the IBE classrooom instruction in schools who of course will bring the Mapuche cosmology and religion into the classroom, has not been widely implemented in public schools run by the state but in the schools run by the *Magisterio de la Araucanía*, which belongs to the Catholic Church. The public schools have not been proactive in incorporating *Kimches* as instructors in their IBE programs, and although now some do have them as part of their IBE program, this feature has been associated mainly with the Catholic Schools run by the Magisterio de la Araucanía.

But clearly this is not the case of the Evangelical and Protestant Church, which has very little tolerance for Mapuche cosmology and ritual practices and a far less tolerant approach towards accepting any form of hybridity in its practices. Wherever Evangelical beliefs are dominant within a Mapuche community or school, the processes of re-ethnification, recovery and maintenance of Mapuche ancestral traditions, cosmology and language will face a tough opposition. Mapuche traditional rituals and community celebrations, receive no support coming from Mapuche communities of Evangelical faith. This open opposition, bordering a fundamentalist approach of the Evangelical Church to all issues concerning Mapuche traditional culture and language, includes opposition to IBE programs in schools and a ban on teaching the *Mapudungún* language in the schools. Nevertheless, the Evangelical Church has been credited with making an important contribution in addressing the urgent problem of alcoholism among the Mapuche population.

In the school of Piedra Alta, one of the most significant markers of support or resistance to Mapuche traditional religious practices, culture and language on behalf of the Mapuche parents and students was not only the degree of assimilation existing in their families but also their degrees of affiliation to the Evangelical faith. The closer Mapuches defined themselves in alliance with the Evangelical faith, the stronger was their opposition to their ancestral Mapuche culture and language to be transmitted in the communities and in the schools.

Although the majority of Mapuche people with whom I had contact in Piedra Alta and in the ADI-Budi and with whom the subject of religion ever came up, declared to be Christians of the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, after a while I was generally left with the impression that a great amount of skepticism still existed in relation to the dogmas of the church, even among those who claimed to be quite devoted Christians. The subject matter of Christianity and religion among the Mapuche of Piedra Alta was not apparent to me as one of the defining issues and preoccupations of the majority of the people in the community.

3.2.c Mapuche traditional patterns of education and socialization of Children

"Antes los viejos se levantaban en la mañana, bien temprano, hacían levantar a sus nietos, sobrinos...cuando hacían algún error no lo reprendían en la noche, no lo reprendían en la tarde...No, sólo tenía que ser en la mañana después que se levantara. Lo hacían sentarse en un asiento y ahí le daban un consejo...que no fuera así, que no fuera atrevido, que sepa vivir, sepa respetar a la gente, sea hombre, sea mujer, bien sea el más humilde, el más pobre respetarlo, ese es el consejo del mapuche antiguamente...a mi me criaron así,...me crió mi tía...ese es el consejo del mapuche, del modo de vivir antiguo...Entonces todo se hace en la mañana , antes de tomar el mate, antes de comer...el consejo se da primero, después de eso, se toma mate, se come en conjunto...no tiene nada porque agraviarse el joven o la niña, al contrario, debe alegrarse por el consejo que le dan. Para el Mapuche tiene importancia aconsejar...

Belarmino Jaramillo Quilanco

Es importante señalar que el modelo o sistema de educación tradicional Mapuche aún está vigente en el Lof, dado que se pueden identificar los objetivos, métodos de enseñanza-aprendizaje, un sistema de evaluación y sus actores educativos. Dado lo anterior, se puede sostener que sí existe una pedagogía mapuche…

María Díaz-Coliñir (1999)

All literature concerning traditional educational practices of Mapuche people indicates that Mapuche children and parents have a very close and loving relationship and that the children's participation in the events of the adults is not only part of their

daily lives within communities with closely weaved networks of extended intergenerational family interactions, but it is also this contact which constitutes the main teaching-learning events in the traditional forms of Mapuche pedagogy (Hilger, 1957; Faron, 1968; Melville, 1970; Parker, 1995; Marimán, 1997; Herrera, 2000; Díaz-Coliñir, 2003). Within this context, Mapuche children learn through observation, imitation and participation in the adults' activities during their practical chores in the household, in the field and in the community. Generally, the boys are mentored by their fathers and male relatives and the girls by their mothers and female relatives. Oral tradition plays an important role as children listen to folk tales and recommendations by their elders in private and public settings. High value is given to cooperation and collaboration, respect for the elderly, to native religion and cosmology, to nature, to dialogue and consensus, to family unity and to reciprocity in community ties.

An important characteristic of the Mapuche traditional educational practices is that children are assigned specialized tasks and levels of performance either in the household or in the field, according to age and gender. The values of hard work, responsibility, participation and cooperation are established from an early age, but also the functions are very clearly defined by age and gender (Herrera, 2000).

Mapuche children have a great degree of freedom for doing what they want at home and are punished seldom or coerced into learning. Behavioral corrections, when the child is non-respondent are done in subdued tones. Stern voices, however, are used when discipline is needed. Laud voices or physical punishments are used very rarely for addressing or correcting children's behavior, no matter how disrespectful they may be (Hilger, 1957; Melville, 1970; Herrera, 2000; Díaz-Coliñir, 2003).

Embedded in a traditional culture with deep respect for the natural elements and with limited resources, Mapuche children are taught to give and share under the important principle of reciprocity, applied to all interactions in family and community life. Variations in performance and character among children are also acknowledged as they are expected to learn within their potential and within the limits that their parents

believe they can achieve according to their different ages. Children are expected to give their undivided attention and concentration to the activity which is being taught. Parents and other mentors make sure that the child is ready to learn before beginning the instructional process. The teaching is direct and observed by the instructor, who sometimes clarifies the message with the use of diagrams or demonstrations as the child observes and imitates the performance of a skill (Hilger, 1957; Herrera, 2000). Older brothers and sisters also teach their younger siblings by letting them observe what they are doing or by explaining the procedures of the task. A child learns to make play by observing other children. In occupations, the child is also taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones later, as he grows older (Díaz-Coliñir 1999; Herrera, 2000).

Teaching the child is mainly the responsibility of the immediate family, being the father, mother and grandparents the main socializing agents and teachers of the child, especially at early age. Aunts and uncles and other relatives of the extended family have an important influence on the education of the child. An interesting point is the variation and differentiated social and mentoring roles that the uncles have, according to which side (matrilineal or patrilineal) line of the family they come from. Uncles of the patrilineal line are called *Malle,* and by definition establish a more formal and distant relationship with the children of their brothers, as opposed to the matrilineal uncles, called *Weku*, create higher levels of camaraderie and have a closer contact with the children of their sisters (Course, 2005). Although both the *Malle* and the *Weku* have clearly distinctive roles, all aunts and uncles, as extended family members, remain importantly involved in the education of the children of their siblings.

Although communities recognize and assign parents and grand parents the responsibility as the main instructors of the children, especially in the private family sphere, there is also a sense that the community has an important role to play in relation to the education of their children in the public sphere. This is how, traditional

religious celebrations besides being an important source of cultural reproduction and transmission of ancestral knowledge and beliefs, also have an important pedagogical component attached to them. This is clearly seen when the *Koyagtuf, Werken* and *Hueupife,* as orators and traditional authorities within the main religious ceremony of the *Nguillatún,* take it upon themselves to give extensive pedagogical discourses on good advice to growing boys and girls, as they preach about good values and behaviors to the younger generations during specific parts of the ceremony (Parker, 1995).

Herrera (2000) argues that one of the prevailing features of Mapuche traditional education is the productive and contributing participation of children in the basic economic unit, which is the family. Differently from their Chilean peers, who as children are only supposed to attend school until grown up adolescents, a situation in which the longer the stage of non-involvement in the working world is, the higher the socially achieved prestige. The situation of Mapuche children is very different, and since early age they become involved during important parts of the day with production tasks of the family in the household or in the fields.

The responsibility for caring for the family herds and flocks falls almost entirely on the children who, according to their age, are given different responsibilities for looking after the different kinds of animals. Developing with this a sort of hierarchy of herding which is established according to the age of children. Typically, children begin between 4 and 6 years old to be responsible for the chicken, at ages 12 to 14 to become responsible for the cows and horses, after been in between at intermediate age levels, responsible for the turkey, geese, pigs and sheep. In agricultural work, school-aged children generally weed and woe the garden with the help and supervision of their mothers. Besides agricultural work, girls also learn house tasks, such as how to weave and cook and take care of their younger brothers and sisters in the absence of their parents. In the case of girls, there is also a hierarchy of house keeping activities according to age. Girls seldom begin weaving or cooking

before 14 years old, but before that they are involved in all other household tasks, such has washing dishes, clothes and other support duties.

It is in the direct contact and social interaction with their parents, and close relatives of the extended family, that the Mapuche children, performing in clearly aged and gender defined tasks, are guided by their mentor-instructors in constructivist and dialogical ways though the learning process in their practical day-to-day labor activities for subsistence. In the Vigotzkian sense, it is the parents, grand parents, siblings and extended family members who in a caring and holistic way provide the necessary scaffolding for socially constructing knowledge, which leads Mapuche children to higher levels of competence in their learning processes. In this sense, Mapuche traditional pedagogy has been socially constructivist and holistic for probably centuries before the current term was even thought about by the Western academy.

Other important aspect to mention about Mapuche traditional education, are the socio-cultural spaces in which the production and transmission of Indigenous Knowledge *(Kimün)* takes place and the social agents who participate in it. As mentioned in the graphic of indigenous knowledge construction on Chapter 5 (pp. 131), professor Díaz-Coliñir (1999) argues about the existence of four main cultural spaces where the Mapuche traditional pedagogy takes place, quite different from mainstream Chilean and Western educational patterns. First, the extended family network living at close proximity, followed by the different religious ancestral ceremonial practices in social spaces (private and public) in which transmission of traditional knowledge also takes place. Third, the different and varied educational social agents involved in the traditional teaching of the Mapuche children either in the extended family or in the community at large. Finally, the different forms of social control and evaluation of children's performance, which goes beyond their parents and extended family to include communal forms of social control. All this, taking place through the different discursive and oral practices in the *Mapudungún* language, which

is the main language of instruction used in traditional pedagogical settings and ancestral ceremonies.

It becomes interesting to notice that the four sites of the Mapuche traditional teaching and learning process (Family-private sphere, Community-public sphere, Ceremonial-community sphere and Work-production sphere), happen to be the same sites for indigenous knowledge production and transmission, which in many ways they also become the main social sites of ethnic identity construction processes (Chart, pp. 131).

The oral tradition of story telling is at the heart of Mapuche ancestral pedagogical practices and the knowledge building process. So, the importance that discursive practices are given among an oral culture such as the Mapuche is fundamental. Díaz-Coliñir (1999) argues that there are eight main distinctive pedagogical activities linked to discursive practices in the *Mapudungún* language which added to games and guided observation/imitation practices, constitute the main instructional methodologies in traditional Mapuche pedagogy.

They include;

Ngütram: dialogs and conversations including story telling and narrations of historical events from which children learn indirectly about these events. They are not specifically instructional conversations, nor guided specifically for children, although they take place among adults in front of children, who get informed through them.

Ngülam (advice): is a direct, vertical and clearly the most pedagogical of all the Mapuche discourses. It is clearly geared for instructional purposes and is the most direct way of guiding a child into a certain direction or pattern of behavior. There is not doubt about its intention to modify behaviors by being an essentially corrective pedagogical discourse. It takes place preferably in the evening before bed time.

Wewpin: long narrations about myths that synthesize Mapuche cosmology and history made by traditional orators called *Wewpifes*. Children learn their ancestral history from the *Wewpin* and begin their training in long narrations through familiar

salutations and messages sent with them from one family to another. These salutations increase in complexity and length as the child grows older. The timing and accuracy in the delivery of the messages by children are closely controlled by the elders and recipients of the messages.

Ül: a form of Mapuche poetry applied to songs with narration of love and war through which historical narrations take place.

Epew: are short stories and narrations that although amusing for the children, have implied many values, indigenous knowledge and points of view of Mapuche culture. They are bedtime stories told by the grandparents.

Welu-Ngütram: a more complex Mapuche discursive form that sarcastically emphasizes the negative aspects and the anti-values of something, so as to underscore the importance of the correct-values and the positive aspects of them. This ironic form of expression is very much related with the Mapuche acute sense of humor.

Awkantun: table games, such as *Awar-Kudem* (juego de las habas) a kind of chessboard and the *Palín* which is a collective sport very similar to hockey that creates deep bonds among community members.

Adkintun-Inakan: is the process of learning by observation and imitation from adults who instructs the child about the correct performance in whatever task they are teaching.

To these different forms of discursive and instructional practices used by social agents functioning as teachers, mentors or other carriers of knowledge, there is another important source of knowledge construction added to this, which is the realm of the dreams and the signs given by the natural environment. Both of these activities, having an important role in defining the events to come for Mapuche children and people. Readings of the messages from the natural environment and the Mapuche interpretation of dreams is based on an elaborate system of deciphering symbolic events seen has generally involving mandates from the Gods, or inner personal forces. The *Machis* (Shamans) having also functions as some kind of oracle, are the

depositories of the knowledge for interpreting dreams, which are considered the bridge between the land populated by the imagination in a distant world and the real experiences to become real in the immediate earthly world (Marimán, Bello et al., 1997).

3.2.d. The positioning of families with high vs. low levels of assimilation

According to María Díaz-Coliñir (1998, 2004), a Mapuche professor at the *Universidad de la Frontera* in Temuco, who has done extensive ethnographic and educational research and program development in Piedra Alta and in many other Mapuche communities in the Araucanía, the first and most important point to have clear when observing traditional patterns of education within Mapuche communities and families, is the noticeable differences that exists in terms of the degrees of assimilation or resistance of Mapuche families towards mainstream Chilean culture and language. This serving as a point of reference to see how Mapuche families go about teaching their children in relation to Mapuche ancestral patterns of education and values. In her work, she mentions the need to identify and focus on seven areas which will serve as indicators of assimilation vs. resistance of Mapuche families:

a. Participation in traditional community ceremonial practices
b. Maintenance of the extended family pattern
c. Amounts of usage of the Mapudungún language at home
d. Nature of relations held between the parents, school and the community
f. Amounts of diversity and practices in agricultural and herbal production
e. Levels of participation with the Catholic or Evangelical churches
g. Levels of ethnic awareness and political participation in the communities

My observations of the children at school and of families in the community of Piedra Alta in terms of the degrees of assimilation vs. alliance to their Mapuche culture, totally coincides with hers. During my field research in Piedra Alta, it always came across to me that the children with higher levels of alliance to their Mapuche culture and language came from families who also had higher levels of resistance to the dominant culture, and vice-versa, i.e., the children with higher levels of assimilation came from families with also higher levels of assimilation and high levels of alliance to the Spanish language and the dominant culture, especially in the case of those within the Evangelical or Protestant religious faith.

I think that the positioning of the Mapuche families of Piedra Alta in a continuum between highly assimilated on the one end and highly resistant and allied to the Mapuche culture and language on the other end could show at both ends 10% of people very defined in favor or against the usage of traditional cultural patterns for educating Mapuche children. In the middle 80% oscillating between both extremes, and showing different degrees of agreement or disagreement with both radical positions. This demonstrates the high degree of ambiguity that many Mapuche families and communities have in relation to the transmission of their ancestral culture and language to their children (Painemilla, 2004). As mentioned before, in the ADI-Budi in general and in Piedra Piedra Alta in particular, I perceived a high level of ambiguity within the Mapuche communities and families as to how much of their traditional knowledge and language should be part of their home learning environment and school programs, and how much of this knowledge will equip successfully their children to face the mainstream dominant culture in which they will probably have to live after migrating out from their Mapuche communities. This leads us to see more closely, in the next chapter, how IBE programs in schools remain as a controversial issue within the Mapuche context (Painemilla, 2004).

Chapter 4: Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in the Mapuche context in Chile: A challenge towards diversity

Al interior y a través de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe se gesta un proyecto histórico que contiene el porvenir de las lenguas y culturas indígenas, ya no sólo en función pedagógica, sino que cuestiona los cimientos de las sociedades nacionales en pos del reconocimiento y valorización de sus múltiples componentes lingüísticos y culturales. No sería comprensible el desarrollo más reciente de la educación bilingüe, sus tesis ideológicas o las polémicas en torno a ella; si no se les ubica dentro de una concepción más amplia por la cual este enfoque educativo, entre otras, representa una estrategia dirigida a apoyar el proceso de liberación y descolonización de los pueblos indios de América.

Pero pese a los avances políticos y legislativos que favorecen a la EIB y su institucionalización, este modelo educativocontinua en constante experimentación, sin haber podido encontrar una vinculación institucional idónea.

Citarella, Chiodi et al., (1990)

4.1. Ideology and policy for indigenous schooling in Chile: The Church and the State in the Colonial and Post-Colonial project

"Colonialism should have been dead after World War II in 1945. While the world decolonization process is almost complete, it has not begun yet for indigenous people. Colonialism among indigenous people in the

Americas began with Columbus in 1492, but it did not reach its height until the close of the nineteenth century…in fact, indigenous people are still being subject to it"

Yazzie (2000)

Historically the education for indigenous peoples, imparted originally through the hands of the missionaries and later the public schools, has had not only a strong evangelizing and assimilationist character, but also an ethnocide orientation. Within this two approaches, Mapuche knowledge, culture and language have been silenced and marginalized from the educational process, at the same time that a monolingual and mono-cultural perspective, with utter disregard for all elements that do not belong to the "civilizing European based culture" have been established by the dominant national project, geared for Chilenization and the Church's project for Christianizing the Mapuche.

Marimán, 1997

If there has been a consensus among critical educators about the cultural and linguistic reproductive social function of traditional schooling, as mentioned by Bourdieu and Passeron (1974), it is also agreed that it has been within the schooling patterns of colonialism, where the ideological struggle between cultures and languages in contact, has arrived at its highest point of intensity (Macedo, 1991; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Colonial patterns, although they where part of a larger sociological construct for domination, translated their actions at the micro-level of the classroom, into assimilationist programs based on cultural impositions through symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). With this, the asymmetric relations of power and prestige define the education of colonialism where the perspectives and values of the colonizer where positioned as dominant absolutes over the colonized culture, which was placed in a position of subordination by the silencing and dismissal of the value of its indigenous knowledge, languages and the people who represented them (Cajete, 2000, Yazzie, 2000; Marimán, Bello et al., 1997).

The case of the Mapuche people of Chile and their schooling experience is not an exception to the rules of this pattern of interaction between traditional cultures and the European colonizing Modernity (Bengoa, 2000; Marimán et al., 1997; Díaz-Coliñir, 2002). From this perspective, I am convinced that to talk about indigenous knowledge and education and, in general terms, about the education of language minority populations in the Americas, it becomes an imperative to mention the conceptual framework of Colonialism and the impact that its asymmetric relations of power has had on the education and the image construction of the "non-European other", its culture and its language (Said, 1993; Cajete, 2000; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Bengoa, 2000). As said, the schooling of the Mapuche people in Chile, as with other indigenous groups on the American continent, has not been an exception to the dark historical legacy of colonialism and its later versions, the neo-colonial which, in one way or another still remains present (Macedo, 1999; Marimán et al, 1997; Yazzie, 2000).

In this historical context, the Mapuche people, as with many other Native-American groups in the continent, have seen the school as a colonial agent for acculturation and assimilation and their historical relationship with it has been, and in many ways continues to be, a very ambiguous one. On the one hand, schools were perceived and still are perceived (although to a lesser extent), as places of forced assimilation and indigenous identity and language loss. In the case of the Mapuche people, schools were considered and in many ways still are considered as the place to "cross-the-border" into the cultural world of the oppressor and to become *Winka* (non-Mapuche) (Painemilla, 2003). But on the other hand, schools have also been seen instrumentally by the Mapuche communities as a necessary place for acquiring the cultural and social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and the codes, credentials and discursive practices for social and economic advancement within the mainstream dominant *"Winka* Culture" (Marimán et al., 1997; Bengoa, 2000; Durán, Catriquir et al., 1997).

Since early European contact, indigenous education in Chile has remained in the hands of two major social agents: the Church and the State. It began as part of the *evangelizing projects* of the Catholic Church during the early colonial period, and has remained in the hands of the Catholic Church in a very significant way, even until today when the *Magisterio de la Araucanía*, the largest private network of school in the rural Mapuche context in the region of the Araucanía, is owned by the Catholic Church. Another important period to mention for indigenous education is the Republican times in which, after independence, the state began an *Assimilationist* approach through the establishment of a public school system, as part of the creation of the newly imagined postcolonial national-state project (Bengoa y Valenzuela, 1983).

Although the creation of the Chilean Republic took place in 1810, it was only in 1842 with the establishment of the *Universidad de Chile* and the first *Escuela Normal* (school for teacher education), that the Chilean state began to develop a national system of public education (Serrano, 1994). It was a slow start in 1842 as no more than 10,000 children (1% of the population) were enrolled in elementary schools, but it grew fast, to 23,131 a decade later (Labarca, 1936). By , the Compulsory Elementary Instruction Law *(Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria)* was passed by Congress which required all school-age-children to attend up to at least 6th grade in public schools. At this point elementary public schools were installed in rural areas and on almost all Mapuche reservations (Herrera, 2002). These new public elementary schools join on the reservations joined the schools of the Catholic Church which had existed since early colonial times to evangelize and educate the Mapuche elites.

It is important to note that indigenous cultures and languages in Chile, were never officially recognized by the state and its public educational policies until 1996 with the creation of the First Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education of the Ministry of Education. Before this, the Mapuche people were officially considered to be "rural peasants" with no official recognition of their ancestral indigenous past, culture or language. For almost two centuries, the traditional state public schooling for

indigenous people was part of the mono-lingual and mono-cultural assimilationist project of the Chilean nation-state carried out in public schools or in private schools in the hands of the church.

For the last 17 years, since the return of democracy in 1990, a third stage of indigenous schooling has began to emerge slowly, moving in the direction of recognizing the Mapuche culture and language as a distinct entity to be incorporated into the instructional processes and of the Mapuche leadership and communities moving in the direction of taking control over the schooling of their children (Bello, Marimán et al., 1997). But this project although advancing, still remains as an important idea which as not come yet into fruition.

Indigenous education still remains within the ideological frameworks of the Church and the State, defined within an evangelizing context on the one hand and the assimilationist and social reproduction model of the nation-state, on the other. In both cases formal schooling has been phrased as a Eurocentric imposition through cultural violence (Bourdieu, 1977), and the disciplining of the minds and bodies (Foucault, 1980) of the younger indigenous generations, which have been forced, with rigor, into the Western cultural canon. Authoritarianism, verticalism and a hierarchical inequitable nature has marked this schooling process which has been defined by an official curriculum, totally de-contextualized and with traditional pedagogical practices that fail to recognize and incorporate the ancestral knowledge and cultural traditions of Native American communities (Williamson, 2004). The Foucaudian relationship of power and knowledge characteristic of the colonial patterns of education have clearly been seen in this process, but the assimilationist project has never been completely fulfilled because, in the long run, the Mapuche people have never been totally accepted as equals in the Chilean mainstream society no matter how assimilated they might have become in the process nor how much they might have left behind their indigenous culture and language (Bengoa, 2000). In the long run, Mapuches have

never been totally accepted by the mainstream Chilean culture marked by a highly Eurocentric stand.

Although these hegemonic and, at many times fundamentalist approaches, towards indigenous education held historically by the Church and the State, have existed in Latin America for more than 500 years, with a terrible impact in the healthy well-being of Native American people's culture and language, the evangelizing and assimilationist processes have not been able to completely erase the surviving indigenous identity, which through cultural resistance has nurtured its remaining indigenous knowledge, culture and language. In the case of the Mapuche people of Chile, their cultural and linguistic heritage has been hit hard and gravely wounded by colonialism and neo-colonialism, but it still remains alive and vibrant in many rural and urban places (Bello, Marimán, et al., 1997; Canuti and Pedone, 2002).

In the case of Chile, although changes have taken place during recent decades, and the indigenous communities and the Mapuche intellectual groups are having an increasing amount of power and control over the education of their children, the last word in this field still remains in the hands of the state, which through its centralized bureaucracy, the *Ministerio de Educación* controls the main curriculum, instructional practices and mandatory standards. The *Ministero de Educación*, as the centralized national educational agency, also controls the accreditation and official recognition of all private and public schools in the country. So, in terms of the content of Chilean education, not much space is left beyond the frameworks that are defined by the *Ministerio de Educación.* But, although constrained by this centralized bureaucracy, schools today have a larger autonomy than ever before.

The current role of formal schooling (Private and public) remains as a contested issue within the Mapuche communities, and IBE programs reinforcing the indigenous aspects as prt of the classroom experience, have been caught in the middle of this debate, becoming a project without clear consensus among the members of the Mapuche communities at-large.

4.1.a. The historical Mapuche demands for education

Since 1910 there is a clear movement of urban Mapuche organizations, especially coming from the *"Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía"* demanding land, education and agricultural credits. This movement, which created the first forms of ethnic resistance towards state policies for indigenous people, was followed by the *"Federación Araucana"* headed by Manuel Aburto Panguilef who first proposed the formation of a *Mapuche Republic* and allied his movement to the Workers Federation and the Communist Party. By 1926 *"La Union Araucana,"* a group organized by Capuchins monks, presented the first extended list of demands for the improvement of the education of Mapuche people in order to be able to *"Civilize the race"* as the Mapuche were called (Bello, 2004). Following these events, more specific demands for education coming from indigenous groups began in the 1950s, and were articulated by the first generations of Mapuche leaders coming out from the secondary and university public education systems, who were invigorated by the changing political environment and the new social policies of the 1960s (Marimán, 1997). This becomes the socio-political context in which the state shifted towards an indigenist and paternalist position and created the first office of indigenous affairs (*Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas).* In the rural areas these socio-political changes would eventually lead to the construction of more schools and health centers and the initial small changes in the land tenure system, which took place at the early stages of the *Reforma Agraria* which began in the 1960s (Bello 2004).

Nevertheless, these were times of changes in political attitudes, the main leaders of some of these Mapuche organizations, such as Manuel Manquilef and Venancio Coñoepan, were supported by right wing and conservative parties and maintained ambiguous and contradictory and many times assimilationist discourses

favoring the divisions in the communities, convinced that this was the best way for them to move out of poverty and marginality (Foerster and Montecinos, 1988).

The three main educational demands presented at that time by the Mapuche leadership; the building of more schools in rural areas of high Mapuche concentration, scholarships for Mapuche students at the secondary and post-secondary education and Mapuche students' state-sponsored housing in urban centers near secondary schools and universities, still remain as part of the current Mapuche educational demands (Bello, Marimán et al., 1997). The Mapuche leader's demands were heard by the liberal governments of the 1960's, but it was during the socialist government of Salvador Allende in the early 1970's that more substantial changes began to take place. That is how the *Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena*, from a total of 588 scholarships (*Beca Indígena)* that had been granted to Mapuche students in previous years, increased it to 2,782 recipients in 1971 and to 6,000 in 1973. After the fall of the Allende government in 1973, the dictatorship closed the *Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena* and reduced the indigenous scholarships to the minimum that existed before 1970 . The management of the *Beca Indígena* was transferred to the Ministerio de Educación (Bello, Marimán et al., 1997).

Upon the fall of the dictatorship and the return of Democracy in 1990, the demands for education from the Mapuche leadership was reinvigorated, but at this point they acquired a qualitatively different political and conceptual approach than the ones that had taken place in the decade of the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's (Bello, Marimán et al., 1997). Although the post-dictatorship Mapuche educational demands, still retained the three basic components established in the original demands of the 1950´s, its main new emphasis has been concentrated in the need for incorporating IBE programs, as part of a larger (re)ethnification processes for cultural and linguistic recovery and maintenance. This runs parallel to the (re)formulation of a concept of a distinct autonomous Mapuche cultural revival, linking this movement with an emerging socio-political ethno-nationalism (Foerster and Vergara, 2000), paving the

road for the strengthening of the concept of a Mapuche nation, among its younger generations. It is important to mention that the newly proposed IBE programs by the Mapuche leadership, have not been aimed at expanding the existing transitional bilingual programs (which were design more than anything else to either evangelize or assimilate the Mapuche youth into the mainstream culture), but the new programs have been aimed at creating an autonomous and decolonized Mapuche cultural and linguistic stand within the mainstream educational system (Chiodi, 1990; Williamson, 2002).

The current IBE programs proposed within this critical framework are inserted in the new socio-political context of the Mapuche demands for the recognition as a nation with an alternative cultural project. This newly phrased educational demands for IBE programs also carried new demands for the allocation of resources for teachers and administrator's training for these programs (Williamson, 2002). But again, the reaction of the state in response to these qualitatively new demands has taken a similar route than many other Mapuche demands, which have been substantially modified and watered down in Congress before their approval. So, although the current *Indigenous Law* of 1993 requires the creation of IBE programs in the indigenous contexts, it does it in a way that is very far in terms of the scope, content and approach in which the current indigenous leadership has proposed.

4.1.b. The privatization of public education and the educational reforms of the 1980s and 1990s

The process of privatization of the main state industries which took place during the 1980s in Latin America and especially in Chile, which at that time began consolidating its neo-liberal economic model, not only happened at the level of the great industrial economic conglomerates, but it also occurred in the areas of public education. In 1981 the public educational system which had served the country well

for more than a century, was dismantled and replaced by a system that began privatizing public education. First, by decentralizing and transferring the administration and financing of the schools from the central state authority *(Ministerio de Educación)* to the local county governments (*Municipios),* and soon by transferring an important amount of ownership of schools into the hands of private investors.

Nevertheless, this process that transferred the administration, financing and ownership of all public schools from a central state authority to the local governments in the Municipios and directly into private hands, did not carry with it the transfer of the responsibilities over the curriculum and instructional practices of the programs to be imparted in them, which remained in the hands of the central state educational authority, the *Ministerio de Educación*. Authority which continued to have control over the content of the Chilean education by formulating the main curriculum, skills and knowledge based, to be required by the students in schools. So, the privatization change that took place in the Chilean public education system in the early 1980s takes place at the level of the property, administration and financing of the school, but not at the level of the curriculum and instruction or of the ideological contents of education, which remained dependent from the central state bureaucracy of the *Ministerio de Educación*.

The *Ministerio de Educación* ran during the 17 years by the military dictatorship, had very little tolerance for ethnic and linguistic diversity, time in which any sort of IBE program development was totally out of the question (Namancura, 2001).

The educational reform that arrived with the restoration of democracy in 1990 did not return schools to public hands, although it opened a space for the local *Municipios* and locally-owned schools to implement their own educational programs. But this opening was also relative, because it retained the power of the state centralized office in the *Ministerio de Educación,* who continued to establish a series of centrally defined "basic curricular objectives and programs." In practical terms this

left very little space for wider curricular innovation, such as the ones that Intercultural Bilingual Education requires.

4.1.c. Current educational levels of the Mapuche people

Historically the education of the Mapuche people has been at a disadvantage in relation to the average national standards, especially in the rural areas, where the access to schooling has been restricted by geographical settings and schools within Mapuche communities which do not go beyond 6th or 8th grades (Bello, Marimán et al, 1997). A study conducted by Berlung in 1977 mentions the existence of the first IBE programs in the Mapuche context that were attempted in the early 1970's during the *Reforma Agraria* period. This study indicates that, despite the *Mandatory Primary Education Law* of 1926, which required all children to attend school up to 8th grade, most Mapuche did not complete more than 3 or 4 years of schooling, especially in the rural areas of the Araucanía.

In a study 1983 study conducted by Bengoa and Valenzuela of 200 Mapuche rural and urban families, found that nearly two thirds of the male household heads and almost all their spouses were illiterate or functionally illiterate, having completed only up to 3rd grade. A generational difference is also shown in their study; they found that levels of illiteracy were lower among younger generations, with only 6% of 12 year olds having less than 3rd grade. According to these authors, the construction of schools that took place in the Mapuche communities in the 1960s and the scholarship *"Beca Indígena,"* which also started in the late 1960s, enabled funding the education of an important amount of Mapuche students. But,still their study shows that in 1983 only 25% of the younger Mapuche children finished 8th grade and moved on to secondary education (middle and high school) outside of their communities. The current numbers are not very distant from those mentioned by the last Census of 2002, in which, for the same age population, the census mentions 30%. According to Bello, Marimán, et al.,

(1997), Mapuche people who have migrated to the cities present a slightly higher level of education than their counterparts in the rural areas, due to the more accessible schools and the pressure in urban areas for education as a way of improving their work situation.

According to a study made by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 1998), among the urban Mapuche population 5.4 % have never been in school; 47% have some schooling at the level of elementary schooling (1^{th} to 8^{th} grade); 37% have some schooling at the middle-high school level (8th to 12th grade) and 10.5 % have some kind of university level training. These percentages become quite lower among the rural Mapuche population living in their ancestral territories in southern Chile. In which case a 14.7 % have never been in school; 69,2% have some kind of elementary schooling (1^{th} to 8^{th} grade); 14% have some schooling at the middle-high school level (8^{th} to 12^{th}) and only a 2.2 % has university level schooling (INE, 1998)(1).

	No schooling	Elementary (1-8 grades)	Secondary (9-12 grade)	University Post-Secondary
Urban areas	5.4%	47.1%	37%	10%
Rural areas	14.7%	69.2%	14%	2.2%

(1) At the point of writing this chapter, the latest information collected in the census of 2002 in relation to this, have not yet been disaggregated.

The average schooling of a Mapuche in 1990, when the re-democratization of the educational system took place, was 7.8 years and in 1998 it had risen to 8.7 years. That is, over the decade of the 1990's, the majority of the Mapuche children finished elementary school and got to at least secondary education levels, complying with the *Law of Mandatory Education* of 1926 which called for the completion of 8^{th} grade as a

minimum standard. Nevertheless, a new law of compulsory schooling was passed by congress in 2004, in which 12th grade has become the mandatory level to be achieved by school-age-children at a national level. So, under the new national standards the quality of education in schools located in areas of high Mapuche concentration remains very low and out-of-compliance with the actual legislation of mandatory schooling (Williamson, 2005).

An example of this inequality is mentioned by Williamson, (2005) when he mentions a case study conducted on a high school in an urban area serving a Mapuche community in the Araucanía, in which none of the graduates went to college and the majority of the Mapuche students after graduation were employed in low wage jobs, with some deciding to return to live in their communities in their parents' households. According to Williamson (2005), the secondary schooling systems in urban spaces, where Mapuche youth continue their studies after elementary schooling, are even less sensitive to Mapuche culture and language than are the elementary schools in the communities. They remains authoritarian, with low expectations for their students and they exclude all epistemological and knowledge based content existing in the Mapuche communities, which is an important part of the cognitive base that the Mapuche students bring with them into the classroom.

The last national census (INE, 2002), indicates that the current Mapuche population of more than 10 years of age has a 91.8% of literacy rate, as opposed to the non-Mapuche population which has 96%. However, there is noticeable difference between Mapuche men and woman, especially in the rural areas where women are clearly less schooled than men. There is also a generational difference to be seen among Mapuche groups between 16 and 29 years old, with an average 11 years of schooling, versus the generations above the age of 50, which show an average of only 7 years of schooling. The non-Mapuche groups of the same age present a generational difference of 3.7 years of schooling, as opposed to the Mapuche, which is 5.3%. At the national level, 69% of indigenous people under the age of 39 have attained an average

of 8.5 years of formal schooling, although the school dropout rate between primary and middle school remains approximately of 30.4%. According to this same measurement (INE, 2002), only 29.8 % of the indigenous population goes to high school as opposed to the 36.3% of the non-indigenous population. Only 7.9% of the indigenous population goes to college as opposed to the 16.8% of the non-Mapuche population that does. Rates of college graduation for Mapuche (graduate and undergraduate) were not shown by this census.

According to the report *Línea de Base* (1999) 85% of Mapuche in the ADI-Budi are literate in Spanish with basic reading and writing skills, although a 10% has never been in school. Although 63 % finished elementary school, only a 13% went to academic high schools leading to college, after which only 1.6% have gone to college. Again, the graduation rates from college (undergraduate or post-graduate) of Mapuche from the ADI-Budi area are not mentioned in this report. There is also a marked difference in years of schooling, between the different generations and age groups of this population. The older segments are far less schooled than are the younger. The illiteracy rate reaches 20% among the group ages between 35 and 59 years old, and 45% in the group above 60. This is in sharp contrast to the urban indigenous groups in which 6.1 % illiteracy rate is found in those groups between 35 and 59 years old and less than 20% among the older than 60 years.

In the ADI-Budi, 60% of Mapuche below 24 years old are enrolled in some kind of educational institution, with 57% registered in the schools of their immediate community, 24% in a neighboring community and 20 % in urban centers outside of the ADI-Budi. Sixty-five percent of schools in the area are private (Catholic and Evangelical schools) and 31% are public (Municipalizados). Seventy-one percent of students are in elementary schools and 80% of them are eligible and receive state-sponsored free meals at school. With only elementary schools in the rural Mapuche communities, the drop-out rate of Mapuche students is 30%, principally due to economic reasons. The high percentages of school drop-out rates among Mapuche

students continues the vicious cycle of dropping out of school to work in low skilled and low paying jobs, which produce survival wages with no social mobility, nor possibilities of socio-economic advancement.

The schools which have a high percentage of indigenous children among their student population are the ones that present the lowest levels of achievement measured by a yearly standardized test, "*Sistema de Evaluación de la Calidad de la Educación"* (SIMCE). These results are even more dramatic when compared with students performances in schools of middle and high income settings in urban Santiago (MinEduc, 2004).

The question of quality education for indigenous population remains as an important issue marked by contradictions in theory and practice, including the application of IBE programs. It has become one of the principal points within Mapuche demands which have come out of the on-going struggle for autonomy. According to Williamson et al. (2004), the inequities within the Chilean educational system find their maximum expression in rural schools serving Mapuche children.

4.2.a The Chilean state and current IBE programs

> *For us it is very clear that the hegemonic setting of schooling for indigenous people has never worked and what remains of it today is still not working. No matter how many millions in resources and time you invest in the current model, it will not work, because there are factors of values, of learning approaches, of social and community patterns of interaction and links to local development that are fundamental to the indigenous cultures, that are just not present in the current European centered modern schooling that is dominant today in this country. So for us, it is clear that there is an urgent need to change what exists now and to create a totally new schooling model for indigenous people, a very different model of schooling from the assimilationist model which still is dominant in our country.*

> *To whatever conclusion we arrive, I think that the important point is to stress that the critical discussion over the need for a change in the current schooling for indigenous people and the imagining of a new model has began. This is one of the central points on which we are focused in this office.*
>
> *Guillermo Williamson (2004)*
> *Director of IBE, in the Chilean Ministry of Education (2)*

In the 1980s and early 1990s, some attempts at establishing different forms of Intercultural Bilingual Education programs within indigenous communities were made by universities, NGO's, international development agencies and the Catholic Church. At the same time, there were also attempts in favor of establishing different forms of multicultural bilingual education coming from environmental groups working with indigenous people. So, before the official establishment of an office of IBE programs in the Chilean Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) in 1996, there had been some projects concerning the creation of IBE programs in the Mapuche context, coming from different social actors, not including the state (Williamson, 2005).

The Office of IBE of the MINEDUC is the main state agency charged with developing, IBE programs within the 8 indigenous groups in the country, at a national level. For this purpose, there is an administrative structure that coordinates supervisory teams at national, regional and departmental levels, and which work with the different ethnic and linguistic indigenous groups in the country.

Although the IBE office was officially created in 1995, it was only in 1996 when the first experimental IBE programs began on a large scale to take place in some schools with high indigenous concentration in the region of the Araucanía. Today the IBE office of the Ministry of Education works with 300 rural schools located in areas of high indigenous concentration, and serves a population of approximate 32,000 indigenous students. It works together with the *CONADI* (Office of Indigenous

Affairs) created by the *Ley Indígena* of 1993 to coordinate the state public policies towards indigenous people. Although in 1996 the IBE office began operations with a budget of no more than $2.000 thousand US dollars, after a couple of years it had received one million dollars. In the year 2003 the *Programa Orígenes* for indigenous community development in health and education contributed with 8 million dollars for IBE program development in schools that serve areas of high indigenous concentration (Williamson, 2004). Another important component of the IBE office of the Ministry of Education, indicating a political will on behalf of the state to address indigenous issues related with education, is the program of the *Beca Indígena* (indigenous scholarship) which is administered by that office, which currently distributes 25,000 scholarships a year, to indigenous students from K to university level, in order to support their schooling.

Being *Participación* a central part of the government*'s* social policy model, critical consciousness-raising and empowerment (inspired by Paulo Freire and his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1980*) became an important part of the educational discourse of the governments in the 1990s, after the dictatorship (Williamson, 2005). The Freirean idea that the oppressed in collective discussions of their condition could come to realize that their oppression was not deserved, but rather was an essential product of the structural inequalities of the capitalist system in which they lived, is an essential part of Freire's critical pedagogical approach, which has inspired in an important way, the current design of the currently proposed IBE programs in Chile (Williamson, 2005).

But the legacy of a historically highly stratified society and a recent dictatorship (which during almost two decades suppressed al civic and democratic civil rights and forms of democratic interactions among its people), has left an imprint at all levels of participation and grassroots movements and agency in the Chilean communities, especially among the Mapuche, which were also hardly hit during the repression of the military regime.

Although, the IBE office of the MINEDUC has made an important contribution in looking for innovative ways to address the current main issues of indigenous education within a different model than the traditional hegemonic one existing since colonial times, has also been hashly criticized by many districts, schools and teachers in the field for not providing enough support and guidelines on how to go about producing curriculum and instructional practices that can position IBE programs in a respectable space within the mainstream curricular network. I was surprised to realize that the IBE office of the MINEDUC had never produced an Intercultural bilingual curriculum for IBE programs in the Mapuche context, nor had it been able to place IBE programs beyond the status of non-academic enrichment volunteer programs, to be done as workshop credit hours.

One of the main problems related to the organization of IBE programs coming from the MINEDUC has been that the principal educational reforms of the 1990´s did not consider the existence of IBE programs in the curricular network at all. IBE programs were left as alternative program outside the core curriculum, with very little space and time in the instructional daytime schedule to be implemented. This has forced IBE programs, in the majority of the cases, to be run as alternative courses after school hours or as elective workshop courses, which are not required for all students and for which they receive no grade or lesser amount of credits. In many cases this lack of instructional time left by the "basic curricular objectives" (established by the Ministerio de Educación in the current *"reformas educacionales"* of the 1990s), have not enabled IBE programs to become part of the full regular curriculum (Hernández, 2003; Millapura, 2003). Only schools with a high commitment to IBE programs, especially those in rural areas with high indigenous student populations, have been able to implement intercultural bilingual education programs within their regular curriculum by incorporating IBE objectives in content area courses, such as math and science. This has been done by a few individual teachers who have incorporated or replaced regular social sciences, math or sciences objectives with Mapuche traditional

knowledge on math and science. But this IBE through content areas has not been very popular in many schools nor supported by the state educational agencies in any visible way. This sort of spontaneous curriculum planning and development of IBE programs has come, more than anything else, as individual efforts of the individual schools or individual teachers interested in this approach, but not from a state policy of the IBE office of the *Ministerio de Educación.* Unfortunately, the cases in which schools have individually developed their own IBE curriculum to be incorporated to the regular curriculum within content area courses, has been more the exception than the rule (Millapura, 2003).

Today, IBE programs remain as *Proyectos Educativos Institucionales (PEI)* and *Proyectos Curriculares (PC)* (Huenchullán, 2004), that is, curricular projects that give an opportunity for schools or communities to incorporate part of their cultural and linguistic heritage into the school programs of their children, but which are not part of the mandatory curriculum, do not have the credits of a regular course and generally do not have grades or evaluations. The current position of *laissez-faire* and neutrality of the Chilean state concerning IBE program development is where a strong community commitment and support for the idea of IBE programs would find a space for improvement and make a big difference in the status of these programs. The commitment of the Mapuche communities at-large to IBE programs, however is far from being very clear. As a matter of fact, although IBE programs are proposed with great vigor by the Mapuche intellectual and political elites, they remain a contested idea among the grassroots of many Mapuche communities.

4.2.a. IBE programs in the Mapuche context: A contested idea in many indigenous communities

According to Marimán (1997), after the 1970s and 1980s, the indigenous movement having concluded that the educational system had become one of the most determined proponents of the assimilationist and neo-colonial ideology of the state, it

began to see the need for establishing, within its educational demands, a project which would reflect the indigenous perspective of the world as well as its current demands for land recovery, autonomy and cultural and linguistic rights. This search for a new indigenous educational perspective also came out of the *Indigenous Emergence* movement in Latin America of the 1990s that proposed a new perspective on indigenous education and placed it at the center of its demands. Thus, in Chile the educational demands for IBE programs in the 1990s are coupled with the emerging new (re)ethnification processes, in which stress the recovery of cultural and linguistic traditions lost due to assimilation. The demands for a new perspective in education through IBE programs, are initially articulated in the agreement of *Nueva Imperial* in 1989, in the *Congreso Indígena de Temuco* in 1990, and in the creation of the *Comisión Especial de Pueblos Indígenas* (CEPI) in 1990 (Bengoa, 2002; Bello, 1997).

Since early in 1991, the CEPI gave first priority to educational matters, after 1993 in conjunction with the office of Indigenous Affairs (CONADI), developed a series of strategies and programmatic actions which were based in two main objectives: the first related to the establishment of the first IBE pilot programs in rural schools in the Araucanía and the second proposing assistance and support for teacher training, development of a single and unified alphabet in the *Mapudungún* language, increasing the number of indigenous scholarships, and providing urban housing for Mapuche secondary and university students (Bello, 1997).

The current demands for IBE programs, part of an ethnogenesis process articulated by the Mapuche organizations, emerged at the point of the politically charged times of the *Indigenous Emergence in Latin America* (Bengoa, 2002). They came out of the struggles for participatory citizens rights and demands for land recovery, political autonomy and cultural and linguistic rights (Stavenhagen, 1998), but these demands including IBE, have not been void of problems and opposition, coming, most importantly, from within the Mapuche communities themselves.

Like the IBE projects in the Qhechua and Aymara speaking regions of the Bolivian, Ecuatorian and Peruvian Andes, which have also faced serious opposition by segments of the indigenous communities (Aikman, 1999; López and Moya, 1989) they are seen by many indigenous parents as second class educational programs which do not provide the mainstream skills that their children will need outside of their indigenous communities (Degregori, 1991). IBE programs in the Mapuche context also face important opposition by some sectors of the grassroots, non-elite Mapuche people in the rural communities (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003; Painemilla, 2004).

The current projects of Mapuche ethnogenesis and cultural and linguistic recovery and revitalization through IBE programs in urban and rural spaces, have not gained unanimous support within the Mapuche, non-elite grassroots in the communities, who in many instances discredit them as the product of Mapuche Westernized elites in universities and research centers. As programs with very little understanding of what Mapuche grassroots really need to make a living after having migrated to the cities (Saavedra, 2002). Although the first step in the direction of developing and supporting these ideas on behalf of the Mapuche communities at large has been taken, the road remains as a very long one. The day in which the Mapuche community at large rally around these projects in an unanimous way, seems to be a distant one (Saavedra, 2002).

A report from the Office of Indigenous Affairs, *CONADI* made by Mapuche leaders about their attempt to develop IBE pilot programs in some Mapuche communities in rural areas of the Araucanía in 1996 is a very revealing example of the ambiguity of many Mapuche communities in relation to these programs:

> *"The impression remains that the Mapuche communities do not believe that an education that gives value to their language and their culture can change the depression within the Mapuche society. Some parents have said: "the Mapuche language and the culture have no future. They are agonizing. It is already too late...a sector*

> *of the community even opposes IBE, seeing it as a step backwards, a useless education, since it has no value for interacting within the Winka world (mainstream Chilean). It is seen by some as an education, which in the long term, impides the good acquisition of Spanish language skills, of calculus and science."*
>
> *(CONADI, 1996:13)*

Vidal (1989 p:159) also stated this resistance towards IBE programs among some sectors of the Mapuche communities in a very vivid way:

> "*The parents see the future of their children outside the land, outside the Mapuche community, and the young people see education as the means that will enable them to get out of the rural world, of the indigenous world, as something that will enable them to insert themselves into mainstream Chilean society and into the world of work in a more advantageous situation than if they were to be illiterates in Spanish and ethnically very Mapuche."*

During my fieldwork, I frequently observed how older Mapuche were not in agreement at all with the new generation in terms of the (re)ethnification processes, including IBE programs. Specially, on how to go about recovering and reenacting, in both rural and urban settings, the traditional ceremonial practices which had been long gone. In my conversations with elders, I saw that levels of authenticity and validity of the links to historical memory that were attributed to newly re-enacted ceremonies and cultural practices that older Mapuche generations were willing to give to some of the recently recovered ceremonial practices, were a matter of intense debate. This ranging from doubtful skepticism to heavy criticism of the current interpretations that younger Mapuche where making of traditional ceremonies (Curivil, 1999).

On the other hand, it was also common to see an important lack of interest in these traditional ceremonies and practices, coming from the other end of the generational spectrum, that is, from the younger Mapuche still in school.

It constantly came across to me, during my field observations and conversations with people in the Mapuche communities and school of Piedra Alta, that the proposed (re)ethnification processes, including IBE in schools, were seen by many people in the Mapuche communities as something coming from Mapuche urbanized intellectuals *(Awinkados)*, who where not necessarily considered an integral part of the Mapuche communities themselves. The debate on IBE programs was not less intense, and although some people supported the idea of teaching ancestral cultural traditions and *Mapudungún* language in the school classroom, many were also very opposed to it. In communities with an important religious evangelical presence, their children were not authorized to participate in either the IBE programs in their schools or in the ancestral ceremonial practices in their communities.

As mentioned before, my field work showed me very clearly that re-ethnification processes, including IBE programs as part of it, are contested areas and grounds for tension between small groups who totally support them, versus small group at the other end of the spectrum which totally opposes them. The vast majority in the middle although do not always clearly oppose them, see them at a cautious and sometimes distrustful distance. The current situation of re-ethnification as cultural and linguistic recovery has also produced a sort of *"crisis of authenticity"* in which the questioning of the legitimacy of the newly reenacted ceremonial practices carries with it also a criticism of the more established ancestral practices (Saavedra, 2002; Curavil, 1999).

A case that has come to embody the debate of authenticity generated by the processes of (re)ethnification is one related to the traditional Mapuche authority role of the shaman/healers called *Machi* and also to the traditional role of the *Kimches* as sources of indigenous knowledge (Painemilla, 2004). The *Machis*, as shamans and carriers of indigenous knowledge in the area of traditional medicine, have historically had a specially respected social position within the Mapuche communities (Bacigalupo, 2001). But this situation has changed today and their role as a shaman

and community leader has also been diminished by criticism and thrown into a sort of crisis of authenticity. I observed similar criticism from sectors of the Mapuche communities taking place in relation with the role of the *Kimches* (traditional men of knowledge) who have been incorporated as instructors in IBE programs in schools, such as Piedra Alta. They are also strongly criticized by some parts of the Mapuche community, who do not see that the role of formal schooling has a place for the transmission of Mapuche culture and language, and which consider *Kimches* not to have the academic credentials to teach their children at school. Institutions which by definition, are considered and expected to be taught by teachers graduated from college who address cultural and linguistic learning objectives concerning mainstream Chilean culture and the Spanish language (Painemilla, 2004).

No doubt there are complex socio-political reasons why the Mapuche communities have not supported, as expected, the re-ethnification projects including IBE programs, as proposed by the Mapuche intellectual leadership. Many of the reasons for this could be found in the historical context of colonialism and the very long story of oppression to which the Mapuche people have been subjected. But what is also clear is that if this situation does not change and re-ethnification projects and IBE programs do not gain the support of the Mapuche communities at large, they stand a very slim chance of success, because without the Mapuche communities backing up their own cultural and linguistic revitalization projects and their own IBE programs in schools, the situation will remain as bleak as it is today (Diaz-Coliñir, 2003; Bello, Marimán et al., 1997).

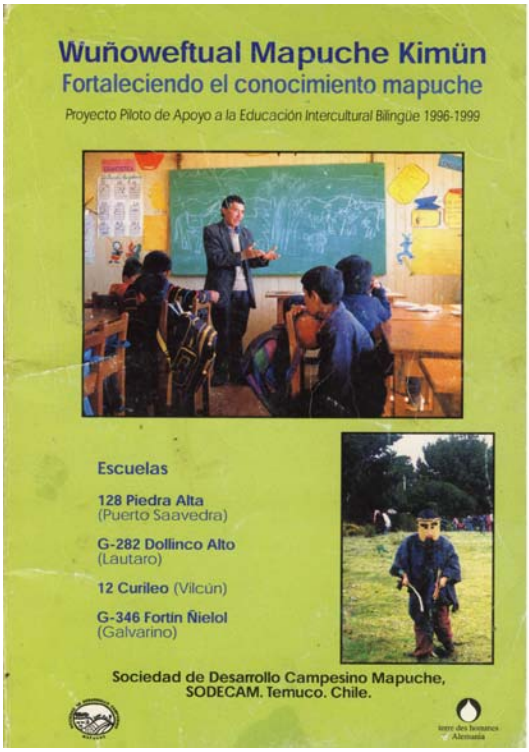
On the other hand, IBE programs in the Mapuche context face the additional burden of being placed as part of a larger and inseparable package of Mapuche political demands, such has the ones concerning land recovery and political autonomy. So in many ways, IBE demands have become paralyzed and forced to wait for the resolution of far more difficult iddues such as the ones related to land recovery, which is clearly not going to be solved anytime soon, if ever.

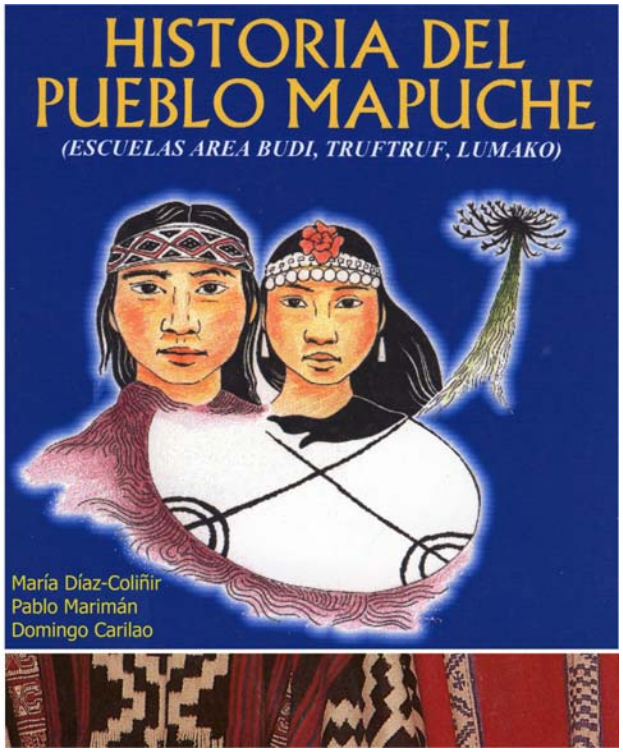
The Chilean state with its current neo-colonial stand, although not as totalitarian as it was during the dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s, is clearly not aligned to an IBE educational project which will questions its hegemonic stand and will begin paving the road for legitimizing a Mapuche autonomous nation. Current public policy and state educational IBE program development for indigenous people are very far from being designed for creating the philosophical and ideological basis for the emergence of an autonomous Mapuche world. At the most, they are interested in improving indigenous rates of performance on standardized tests, and bridging the gap between Mapuche students and mainstream Chilean students, in order to convert the current Mapuche youngsters into more functional Chilean citizens. But the IBE programs coming out from the state educational agencies or the Churche are very far from being transformative and revolutionary and aimed at creating an autonomous Mapuche nation.

What is very clear today is that if something is going to move forward the IBE programs and other forms of (re)ethnification processes in the Mapuche context it will have to exist because the Mapuche communities themselves (and not only the political and intellectual elite, but also the grassroots in the communities) have decided to clearly support and give a battle for these programs. For the time being it is clear that these programs are contested within many Mapuche rural communities in the Araucanía and the majority of Mapuche people in the communities are very ambiguous about their support towards them (Ancán, 2003; Díaz-Coliñir, 2003; Bello, Marimán et al., 1997; Saavedra, 2002).

Chapter 5:

Mapuche Kimün: Indigenous Knowledge and traditional community education





5.1. a. What is Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and why should we study it?

The concept of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) has often been associated in the Western intellectual and cultural tradition as part of the primitive, the wild and the natural. At best, such representations have been charged with paternalistic or idealized

condescending approaches rooted within the ideological framework of the colonial European paradigm of Modernity (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). This approach has contributed very little to a realistic appreciation of the insights and understanding of what indigenous perspectives might contribute (Macedo, 1999).

Indigenous Knowledge is how traditional cultures in many different ways have organized their ancestral knowledge production concerning their cultural beliefs, linguistic practices, and the historical interpretations that have given meaning to their lives (Cajete, 2000; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Battiste, 2000). This is transmitted through oral tradition and is based on holistic perspectives of the interconnectedness of things. It comes out of the direct experience with the environment and within the native cosmologies and values that frame it. Consequently, it is in clear opposition to the Western Modern epistemology of sciences and educational models, based on highly abstract and specialized fields, applied universally with positivist methodologies and transmitted through writing.

In the context of the critical post-structural perspectives concerning the relations between power and knowledge (Foucault, 1972; Rabinow, 1984), Indigenous Knowledge as a form of meaning construction of the subordinate, stands as a challenge to the Eurocentric dominant epistemology and as such it has not been welcomed by the dominant ideology in the Western intellectual tradition (Cajete, 2000; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Battiste, 2000; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). In this context of opposition between Indigenous Knowledge as part of the indigenous world and the Western Knowledge as part of the European Modernity, IK becomes a counter-hegemonic narrative (Giroux & McLaren, 1996), by strengthening an oppositional identity outside Western epistemological traditions and highlighting the contributions of the subordinated cultures, whose space in the Western academy, state and the market, continues to be ignored, minimized or simply denied (Macedo, 1999).

In the field of education and indigenous schooling, IK plays a fundamental role in learning because it is the knowledge base that indigenous children have acquired in

their families and communities. It is the knowledge base which has defined who they are and how they perceive their world. It is the knowledge base of their self-esteem and identity with which they come to the learning process in the formal classroom, and is the cognitive base above which they will acquire and connect has relevant the newly learned concepts (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003; Aikman, 1999; McCarthy, 2002; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

Although some current changes of perception have taken place since the 1980s, when the field of international development became aware of Indigenous Knowledge as an important base upon which sustainable development programs should be built, this concept has not consolidated a respected stand among the modern Western intellectual and educational establishment. Nevertheless, in practical terms, local forms of community-based knowledge continue to provide a network of support to many indigenous people in the world by contributing to the solution of problems of health, agricultural production and education, not addressed by the public policies of the states.

Although an interest in Indigenous Knowledge has began to be expressed in a growing number of academic disciplines (Warren et al, 1995), important calls for the preservation of IK at the international level, began in 1992 at the Conference of Rio de Janeiro on Bio-Diversity, and in December of the same year, when the United Nations declared 1993 the "International Year of the World's Indigenous People." This was aimed at strengthening international cooperation, in order to address the problems faced by indigenous communities in the areas of human rights, the environment, development, education and health.

5.1.b. IK in education and identity construction

From an educational constructive point of view, Indigenous Knowledge (IK) as a form of experiential-knowledge-base with which indigenous students arrive into the

classroom learning process, has a direct relation with several important concepts, such as prior knowledge, meaningfulness, ownership and motivation (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003). In this sense, IK incorporated into the curriculum and the classroom practices can also be equated with the concept of what Moll and Greenberg (1990) call *Funds of Knowledge*, i.e., previous experience and knowledge which becomes a powerful tool for the learning process and environment.

The recognition of the ancestral community knowledge and language that indigenous children bring into the classroom, also becomes an important factor in terms of constructing meaningful learning environments (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and on their emotional aspects of learning, by strengthening their self-esteem and ethnic socio-cultural identity (Trueba, 1999). In the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Friere *(1980, 1993)* suggests that allowing students or individuals to have ownership of their knowledge is equivalent to respecting their culture, tradition, language and identity. In terms of the concepts of meaningfulness, he argues that educators should avoid teaching students as if they were “empty vessels" and abandon the educational goal of "deposit-making”. When education becomes meaningful, students have the opportunity to understand the relevance and meaning of the knowledge they are being taught by linking it with their own previous experience, which eventually leads to the process of participation and active discovery of new concepts. This gives students a sense of ownership linked to meaningfulness about the information that they have newly acquired (Freire, 1993).

The incorporation of IK into the curriculum and classroom instruction links the previous knowledge base and experiences of indigenous students with the current knowledge that is being discovered in the classroom and creates a dynamic dialog of critical comparative perspectives between the Western forms of knowledge production prevalent in schools and the Indigenous forms of knowledge production, coming from the indigenous communities. It creates a counter-hegemonic narrative that leads to critical reflection, which in turn enriches the instructional dialog and sharpens the

critical thinking skills of the students involved in the process. It also creates and validates important counter-hegemonic spaces of resistance for indigenous students to counterbalance the pressure for assimilation and to open spaces for legitimized ways of indigenous hybrid identity construction.

5.1.c IK for Ethno-development: cultural and social capital in Mapuche communities

According to Durston (2002), the strengthening of the traditional socio-cultural systems of indigenous people, such as their autochthonous forms of knowledge production and transmission systems, culture, language, religious practices, government, networks of lineages and practices of reciprocal interactions of mutual support, constitute not only ancestral community practices, but also important forms of "Cultural and Social Capital" upon which development programs (including educational ones) can find an important basis of support to become sustainable through time.

At the regional Latin American level, since the failure of many community development programs, which took place during the decades before the 1980s, times in which a model of *"Development from Without"* prevailed by imposing programs designed by international agencies distanced from the communities they were supposed to serve, a new perspective of *"Development from Within"* began to emerge in the 1980s as a viable alternative. This new perspective on development, especially concerning the rural and the indigenous world, was consistent with the current points of view on sustainable development, and began by accepting the fact that differentiated socio-cultural and linguistic systems exist in different communities and that these differences and alternative cultural and linguistic values and social practices are a positive social asset and form of community resources. It is at this point of recognition in which the current perspectives on ethno-development emerges by validating the

tight relationships existing between socio-cultural systems, the cosmological vision and the modes of production of indigenous cultures (Stavenhagen, 1997; Durston, 2002; Velasco, 2001). According to this perspective, differentiated forms of cultural approaches, especially those already existing in the communities, must be considered in each of the planning stages of development. With this, the concepts of *Cultural and Social Capital* as community assets, seen in the sociological traditions of Coleman (1990), Bourdieu (1990), Putnam (1993), Fukuyama (2000), Narayan (1999) become important theoretical concepts within the current perspectives of sustainable development that links ancestral community practices with new forms of production.

Durston (2003) proposes a series of Mapuche community ancestral practices and rituals which based on indigenous knowledge and extended networks of interactions and reciprocity should be considered as forms of *Social Capital* over which development programs should be built in order to find a stable base for their sustainability (Chart 1). From a traditional Mapuche pedagogical point of view, Díaz-Coliñir (2003) argues that these events plus the ones shown in Chart (2 pp. 130), constitute the main socio-cultural spaces for the creation, (re)creation and transmission of Mapuche indigenous knowledge *Kimün* and Mapuche identity. The resurgence of the traditional religion and the role of the *Machis* (Shamans) in regional roles of power, plus the lineage organization of the communities as an ordering principle of alliances, plus the principles of reciprocity in interpersonal relations and the debates in the communities about the autocratic role of the *Longko* (Chief), are social spaces where according to Durston (2005) the complex construction of local Mapuche communities also takes place.

The grupal cultural capital converted into social interaction is also to be found in the main religious ceremonies and rituals of the *Nguillatún* and *Machitún,* in the collective cooperative work activities of the *Kellüwún* and *Mingaco* and in the competitive sport events of the *Palín.* All which serve as social intercommunal events

reaffirming identity, religious and family ties while at the same time create social spaces for dialogue and reciprocal interactions.

There is no doubt that, within the rich Mapuche IK that includes cosmology, culture, language and community networks of interactions and support, there is a wealth of social and cultural capital that can serve as a solid basis for sustainable development programs and for education.

Chart (1) *Durston (2003)*

CAPITAL SOCIAL MAPUCHE

Tipo de Capital Social	Concepto cultural	Conducta de reciprocidad o cooperación
Capital social individual	Misa, Misha; Misagún	El ritual de compartir comida de un mismo plato, demostrando amistad y confianza entre dos personas.
	Mediería entre 'socios'	Acuerdo de trabajo entre dos individuos con repartición del producto (cosecha, animales, etc.) por la mitad.
	Trafkiín o Chaukín	Ceremonia diádica de intercambio de regalos entre personas, con un trato especial de confianza y respeto.
	"Kon" de palín	Pares de contrincantes/amigos intercomunitarios.
Capital social grupal	Ilotún	Comer carne juntos entre varias familias, por ejemplo, un asado para una esquila
	Kelluwün	Ayuda económica mutua, recíproca, participando hasta 3 a 4 personas. Aplicada en actividades como la trilla
	Reyñma	Linaje o sublinaje, todos descendientes patrilineales
	Palín	Equipo deportivo de seis o más hombres
Capital social comunitario	Lof che	La mayoría de los habitantes dela comunidad desciende de el o los fundadores mapuches de la Reducción
	Mingaco	Ayuda económica mutua, recíproca, participando varias personas, en actividades como la siembra y cosecha.
	Lonko	Liderazgo hereditario y meritocrático de la comunidad
	Palín o Chueca	Deporte tradicional con ceremonia religiosa, fiestas y celebraciones, generalmente entre comunidades. Refuerza identidad comunitaria en oposición a otros.
Capital social de puente inter-comunitario	Palín o Chueca	Deporte tradicional con danza religiosa, invitaciones a comidas y fiestas, entre comunidades con relaciones de parentesco. Fortalece vínculo intercomunitario.
	Nguillatún; ayllarehue	Ofrenda o rogativa ceremonial. Abarca varias comunidades con relaciones de parentesco y cooperación; ayllarehue (nueve altares) expresión religiosa de unidad entre varias comunidades vecinas
	Machi; machitún	Figura chamánica con funciones médicas, religiosas y políticas; atiende a varias comunidades.
	Red de matrimonios	Una densa red de matrimonios intercomunitarios establece alianzas de cooperación e intercambio
Capital social societal	Fütal Mapu, Wallmapu	Identidades territoriales y étnicos, reintroducidos por estudiosos mapuches y por el movimiento mapuche.

5.2.a. *Kimün* and *Mapudungún as* ancestral Mapuche knowledge

Mapuche *Kimün* is to be found principally in the cosmological and ontological wider orientations that guide Mapuche people's behaviors and give meaning to their world within their ancestral traditions, rituals and language. There are ancestral traditions which are expressed first in terms of their cosmological religious origins and

of their historical social memory concerning their lineage-based communities, and their founders (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003). It is also expressed in the ethnic identity and the oral narratives of the Mapuche heroes of the past, who struggled in resistance and negotiation with the dominant Spanish colonial and Chilean states. This entire cultural heritage is embedded in the *Mapudungún* language, which serves as a linguistic framework to articulate all the above historical and socio-cultural identity constructions (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003). The current processes of reinforcement of the Mapuche socio-cultural identity to be seen among a wide-spread network of Mapuche political leaders proposing the current emergence and re-vitalization. This constitutes an important base for a growing network of social interactions and reciprocities, which are the base of the current Mapuche social-cultural and political interactions (Bengoa, 1999).

The divergent conceptualizations of reality encompassed by Mapuche *Kimün* and Western world views have important epistemological consequences; whereas Western knowledge has been compartmentalized into clearly defined subjects (e.g. math, science, music or languages) which are considered to have a logic of their own, there is a holistic interrelatedness to all aspects of Mapuche *Kimün*. Conceptual distinctions between practical and theoretical knowledge, or between religious and secular knowledge do not apply in this case, because there is a spiritual dimension as a common thread that runs through all the areas of Mapuche *Kimün*. It moves with a sense of balance between the visible and the invisible forces of the world in which the Mapuche are positioned and where they depend on their Gods for health and nutrition, at an individual and community level. But notwithstanding its holistic interrelatedness, Mapuche IK is structured on the basis of gender, age, marital status, and lineage affiliation. For example men and women have access to different bodies of knowledge. Men develop an understanding of the agricultural and animal husbandry activities and women an understanding of the home tasks, of the garden and the gathering of plants,

fruits and herbs. Children also divided by age and genders are assigned different responsibilities in the family productive activities.

The case of IK Mapuche *Kimün* in Chile, has not been an exception to the rule of the existing asymmetric relations of power and tension between Western Knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge, and when the corpus of Mapuche knowledge has been recognized and partially incorporated into the fields of health, education or development, it has been slow and in many ways quite controversial (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003; Bengoa, 2000).

Chilean mainstream dominant culture, as a product of an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) constructed and identified within the southern Catholic Spanish Mediterranean cultural and its linguistic tradition, is essentially a Eurocentric construct and its relationship with the indigenous *"Other"* has been historically framed within the patterns of Colonial and Post-Colonial relations of domination and subordination. After all, Post-colonialism in Latin America meant the transfer of power from the Spanish rulers to their European descendents in the New World but the socio-political system of colonial rule remained in the newly-created Republican political structure as a Eurocentric construct which essentially excluded indigenous peoples from its circle (Vitale, Mandel et al, 1977). The creation of the Latin American republics in the XIX century, left Native Americans and other groups of non-European descendent, their cultures, languages and ways of knowing, under similar subordinate conditions to which they had before Spanish colonial rule, and in many cases even worse than before independence (Saavedra, 2002; Bengoa 2000, Mignolo, 2000).

5.2.b. Kimün and Mapuche Cosmology: a spiritual link

> *When referring to the Mapuche culture and identity, the concept of religion as a set of beliefs and ceremonial practices which interpret and give meaning to their lives becomes a very significant variable, because by definition the*

> *Mapuche people are and have been historically a deeply religious group. A deeply religious culture which in one way or another has kept its ancestral cosmological beliefs centered on the land and the natural elements, at the same time that after European contact and colonization, it adopted through forced evangelization the newly arriving symbolic universe of Christianity. Although both religions formally define themselves as absolutes and totally divorced from each other, they have more in common in terms of their narratives, than what they are willing to accept. As a matter of fact, much of the narration of the beginning of the world through a flood and the constant opposition of the forces of good and evil which are defining events in both religions, are amazingly alike.*
>
> *Foerster and Gunderman, 1996*

Within the holistic perspective of knowledge construction of the Mapuche indigenous ways of knowing, *Mapuche Kimün* remains at the center of it cosmology, and its principal practitioners and transmitters, the *Machis* (Shamans and healers) and *Kimches* (sages and community leaders), have important status and prestige within their communities.

Behind Mapuche cosmology, ancestral social practices and ritual celebrations there is to be found *Kimün*, which is the main body of indigenous knowledge, beliefs and principles that guide the lives of the Mapuche from an ancestral point of view (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003, Grebe: 1998).

Considering that Mapuche *Kimün* is directly related with Mapuche cosmology and its interpretation of the world, it becomes absolutely necessary at this point, to mention the main elements of Mapuche cosmology to understand the context in which this knowledge production and transmission takes place (Díaz-Coliñir, 2003).

The Mapuche universe (*Wall-Mapu*) is ruled by the most powerful deities of the Mapuche pantheon; *Ngenechen* (creator of men) and *Ngenemapu* (creator of the earth), and is divided in four main levels:

1. The ***Wenu-Mapu*** (*the world on the sky*) is an intangible place in the space where *Antü* (*the sun*) is in equilibrium with the *Küyen* (*the moon*) and *Wanglen* (*the stars*). It is a space associated with all good things and the residence of all benign spirits.

2. The ***Nag-Mapu*** (*the world in the surface of the earth*) is the space where the *Mapuche (Mapu-earth*/*Che-people*) live in the *Ñuke-Mapu* (*mother earth*) which provides the means for subsistence for the Mapuche at the same time that the main deity, *Ngenechen*, provides them with protection. At this level, the *Ñuke-Mapu* is subdivided into 4 horizontal spaces habited by the four main Mapuche cultural groups: *Pikun-Mapu* land of the north, *Lafken-Mapu* land of the west, *Willi-Mapu* land of the south, *Pehuen-Mapu* land of the east. This space on the surface of the earth is shared with other forms of life, different energies and different forms of knowledge. This is the place where the *Mapuche* live, but not as central dominant figures, but as another link within a larger network of living beings. It is in this context, where learning from the other forms of life and energies takes place and remains in equilibrium within the *Nag-Mapu*. It is at this level where a Mapuche becomes a *Kimche (Kim*-wise/*Che*-person) and Mapuche indigenous knowledge (*Kimün*) is developed. *Kimches* in the ancestral Mapuche tradition are, above all, keen and reflective observers of nature. Having *Yamün* (*respect*) as one of the key values in their mode of discovery of natural events, the *Kimche* uses the language of the earth *Mapudungún* (Mapu-*land* /dungun-*language)* to transmit the knowledge to other Mapuche and also to communicate through the universal *Dungún* (language) with other spirits, energies, animals, plants and other forms of life that share the *Nag-Mapu* with them. *Kimches* are constantly involved, through a dialogue with other spirits and living beings in the Nag-Mapu, and this constant universal dialogue through the *Mapudungún* is the sources of Mapuche knowledge (*Kimün).* So, according to Mapuche cosmology, it is from the dialogical relationship between all forms of life, (either natural or spiritual energies) living in the *Nag-Mapu*, from which the indigenous knowledge *Kimün* is constructed and constantly (re)constructed and articulated by the discursive practices of the *Kimches* as the sages responsible for it interact with their natural environments. It is the *Kimches* who have achieved higher levels of mastery of the *Kimün* in their dialogical relation with nature and it is

they who represent the standards and role models to which ancestral pedagogy is aimed. Because of their knowledge and wisdom, to become a *Kimche* in the ancestral Mapuche tradition is to become an enlightened person (Diaz-Coliñir, 2003).

3 & 4. The ***Minche-Mapu*** corresponds to the underworld, which is located immediately below the surface of the earth. Bellow it, at a deeper level, is the *Inuma-Mapu* (a deeper underworld of the spirits), also part of the invisible realms. Both underworld places, are inhabited by the deities and spirits of good an evil who struggle for dominance and control over all living beings on the surface of the earth, in the *Nag-Mapu*. *Mapuche Kimün* as a more action oriented knowledge is not has much concerned with the two invisible worlds of the spirits of the underworld, as much as the *Machis* and their shamanic notions of health and wellbeing related with the *Nag Mapu*. But still, Mapuche *Kimün* remains connected in many ways with the knowledge construction that takes place on these two levels of the underworld (Grebe, 1998).

5.2.c. Mapuche *Kimün*: its social production and transmission

The search for a clear grasp of the issue of the production and transmission of Mapuche indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* has not been an easy task for this researcher. Among other things because, in Chile, or in any other place for that matter, there is a good amount of data concerning the Mapuche culture in general, its current socio-political situation and other better-studied historical, sociological or anthropological issues, but there is very little, if any, study of Mapuche epistemology and ancestral ways of knowledge production and transmission. Very little has been published about *Kimün* in the anthropological field and less in the educational field. If any, there is scattered information concerning the patterns of production and its social transmission as a form of Mapuche traditional pedagogical practice. Even less, of this information has been related to studies concerning the incorporation of Mapuche *Kimün* into current Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) programs.

There is definitely no comprehensive work published concerning this field as a kind of Mapuche epistemology and still less applied to education. Only few a materials address the concept of *Kimün* as an implied concept in ceremonial practices at all, especially concerning the healing practices of Mapuche Shamans (*Machis*). There is also little written about Their oral production and transmission of knowledge through discursive practices concerning cosmology, ethno-botany or agricultural production. Clearly no systematic study about *Kimün* as a form of Mapuche Indigenous Knowledge production or Mapuche epistemology has yet been published. I this sense my research trying to link the transmission of *Kimün* with current IBE programs in a rural school, and highlighting its importance as a form of cultural and social capital that can used for educational purposes, is something new which is definitely going into an unexplored territory in the field of Mapuche education, with all the advantages and disadvantages which that implies.

I guess I should be happy enough at finding this unexplored territory where I can put my flag on the tip of this iceberg, but arriving to a full understanding of this matter will certainly take more than a doctoral dissertation.

The fact of my being a non-Mapuche, an outsider of the community who is venturing into the area of the Mapuche *Kimün*, one of the few areas that has not been totally intervened by the mainstream dominant culture and remains to be a well guarded and protected space within Mapuche culture (specially concerning the medical healing practices of the Shamans *Machis)*, is an important point to have in mind also. In general Mapuche society does not welcome non-Mapuche researchers, and less when referring to Mapuche *Kimün* as the main source of their ancestral knowledge and practices. The barriers for non-Mapuche to access it becomes even stronger than before.

Nevertheless, I was very lucky to have the opportunity to be guided in my observations by Professor María Díaz-Coliñir, one of the few Mapuche scholars, currently doing research in the area of Indigenous Knowledge, who has done important research concerning *Kimün* and its possible application for IBE program development. After long conversations and several field trips to different urban and rural schools and Mapuche communities, Professor Díaz-

Coliñir who is also affiliated with the *Instituto de Estudios Indígenas* of the *Universidad de la Frontera* in Temuco, has been an irreplazable guide and help for my understanding of Mapuche *Kimün*, the social agents involved in its production and the socio-cultural spaces where it is produced and transmitted, and also the large amount of highly specialized oral discursive practices through which an oral culture like the Mapuche uses to produce and transmit its ancestral knowledge.

The patterns of oral cultural transmission of the Mapuche culture are obviously anchored in its discursive practices and its diverse forms of story-telling. For the Mapuche, although there is a variety of other mediating devises and symbolic cultural usages, such as sculptured religious iconography and ceremonial and recreational music and dance, it is the spoken word and its differentiated discursive practices (in a speech pattern sense), that dominates their cultural construction and social transmission of *Kimün* as the Mapuche indigenous knowledge.

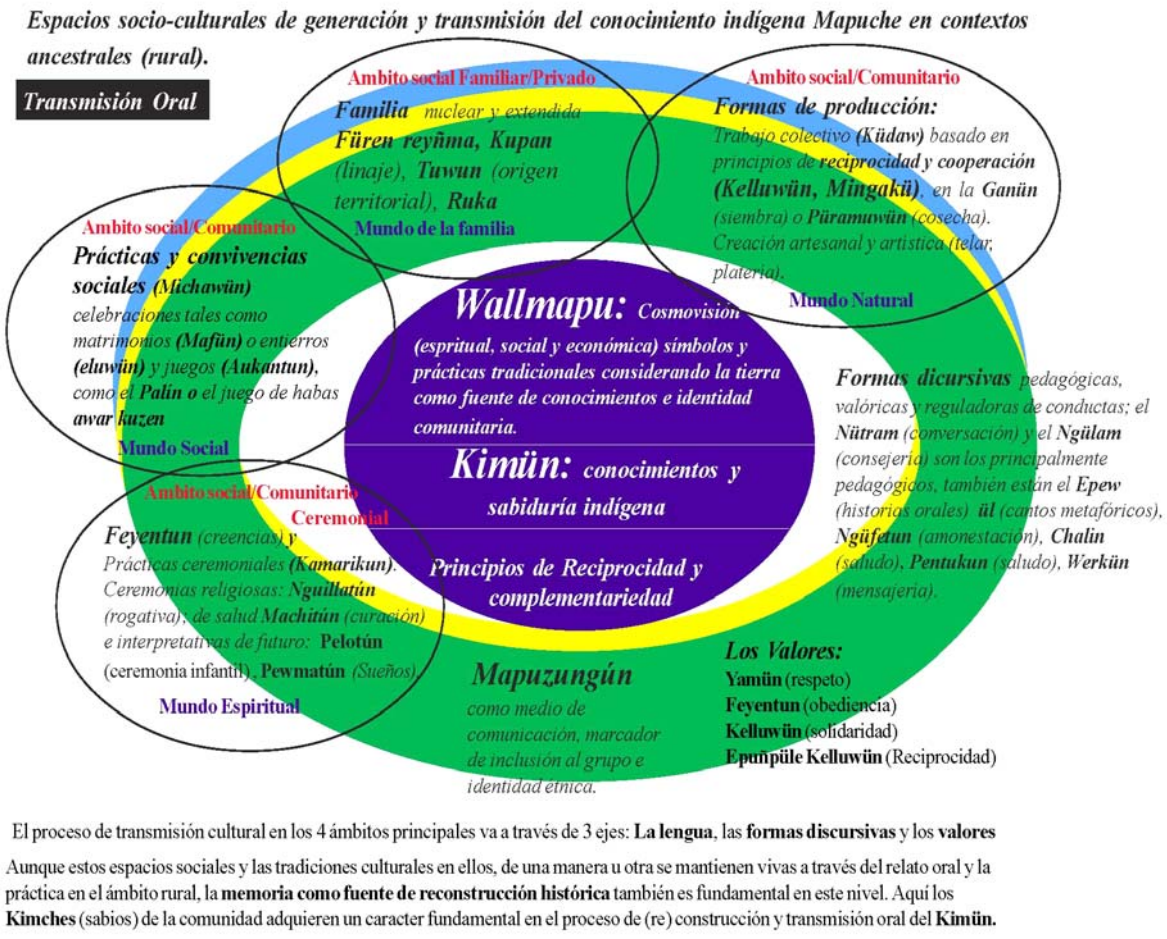
It is through the *Mapudungún*, (i.e., the language of the earth) and its constant dialogical relationship with all living and imaginary beings, that the *Mapuche*, (that is the people of the earth), become themselves and (re)create social meanings in their world, deeply embedded in nature.

As shown in the Chart 2 (pp. 130), elaborated by me as an organizational reference and approved by several Mapuche scholars as a coherent interpretation, *Kimün* is placed at the center space of the Mapuche cosmology within the main universe of the *WallMapu,* and is embodied in both principles of social interaction; *Reciprocity* and *Complementarity*.

Kimün is transmitted and produced in four areas of social interactions. There is first an area of communal work and production followed by an area of nuclear and extended family interactions. Third is an area of social-community celebrations and interactions and finally there is an area of social-community religious celebrations and practices. Each of these four areas of social interaction has, in itself, a series of events and community celebrations in which *Kimün* is socially transmitted and (re)produced by different social agents in each of the events taking place in these main four areas. In this process, the language (*Mapudungun)* plays

a central role as the main medium of transmission and it has a series of at least 8 discursive formats (*formas discursivas*) which carry at least 4 basic Mapuche principles (*los valores*) as rules of social interaction.

Chart (2) *Ortiz (2003)*



El proceso de transmisión cultural en los 4 ámbitos principales va a través de 3 ejes: **La lengua**, las **formas discursivas** y los **valores**

Aunque estos espacios sociales y las tradiciones culturales en ellos, de una manera u otra se mantienen vivas a través del relato oral y la práctica en el ámbito rural, la **memoria como fuente de reconstrucción histórica** también es fundamental en este nivel. Aquí los **Kimches** (sabios) de la comunidad adquieren un caracter fundamental en el proceso de (re) construcción y transmisión oral del **Kimün.**

Nevertheless, in each of the social practices, celebrations and rituals that produce, (re)produce and transmit Mapuche traditional knowledge (*Kimün*), there are specific

social agents involved which are responsible for conducting the event, and also for specific discursive practices associated with each event; it is the *Kimches* who are credited with the development and maintenance of this ancestral knowledge. Therefore, it is also quite common that important ceremonial figures, such as the *Longko (political community leader)*, the *Machi (Shaman, healer)* or the *Ngenpin* (master of ceremonies) are also considered to be *Kimches.*

5.3.b. *Mapudungún*: ancestral language in the school and the community of Piedra Alta

> *When I was growing up in a Mapuche community in the Lake Budi, I only knew Mapudungún…kids laughed and embarrassed me at school…at the beginning I did not understand a word of what the teachers were saying...later when I migrated to the city it became even more difficult for me to get a job because of my accent…I never wanted my children and grandchildren to go through what I went through. So, I have never taught them Mapudungún and I feel good about it. I feel I did the right thing.*
>
> *Comunero Mapuche*

> *The most dramatic of the strategies of "protection" employed by the parents of city-born Mapuches and of many rural ones, is the abandonment of the Mapuche language and the most visible aspects of Mapuche customs and culture. We've heard it so many times that the justification for this is now common knowledge: "I didn't teach my children to speak Mapudungún so that they wouldn't be made fun of...like I was." This strategy is reinforced by the desire to ascend the social*

> *ladder, the desire of migrants to send their children to receive a good formal education "so they'll be more than we were." It is a sad situation to see how many Mapuche people consider the learning of the Mapuche culture and language as a subtractive notion. It is a sad situation that needs to be reverted.*
>
> *María Díaz-Coliñir (2003)*

The importance of the *Mapudungún* language for IBE programs and also as the medium through which IK is constructed and transmitted is fundamental. So, the linguistic and cultural variations existing within the seven different dialectical areas of the *Mapudungún* language that exist in the Araucanía (Picunches, Moluches, Pehuenches, Huilliches, Nagches, Wenteches and Lafkenches), plus the 4 alphabets into which this language has been transcribed and is currently written (Mapuche Unificado, Ranguileo, CONADI and the Alfabeto Universidad Católica de Temuco (Mineduc/IBE, 2002) becomes a very important factor to consider in relation to the development of IBE programs in the Mapuche context (Díaz-Coliñir, 2002). Although in terms of the oral expression of the *Mapudungún* language, there is a larger consensus about the commonality of different dialectical variations, that is not the case with the written forms, where the differences become more significant and there is less agreement about them (Bengoa, 2000; Díaz-Coliñir, 2002).

Although many socio-linguistic studies on the *Mapudungún* language and its relationship with the Spanish language have been produced by Chilean and European linguists for more than a century, starting with the work of Rodolfo Lenz in 1904, I have not found any studies about the usage of the *Mapudungún* in schools or in current IBE programs. Although Hilger in 1957 reported in her ethnographic work in the rural Araucanía that more than 50% of Mapuche children read and wrote the *Mapudungún*

language and a larger percentage of them spoke it fluently, today 50 years later, things are certainly quite different.

Some research on the current usage of the *Mapudungún* language among the Mapuche in urban and rural areas has not been very optimistic about its daily usage and suggests a wide generational gap in the amount of knowledge and use in daily interactions. This includes the research of Noe, Rodríguez y Zuñiga (2005), who argues that no more than a 15% of the indigenous population in Chile, including the Mapuche, reads and writes in their ancestral language. My informal observation, in Piedra Alta, again confirmed the need to see the levels of assimilation of the families in the communities as mentioned by Díaz -Coliñir (1998) in order to have a better idea of the current usage of the *Mapudungún* language in both private and public spheres. There is a clear difference in the usage and attitudes towards the *Mapudungún* language, according to the degrees of assimilation or resistance that Mapuche families and communities have. My informal assessment agrees that the *Mapudungún* in the ADI-Budi, although having a stronger presence than in other places, has clearly been replaced by Spanish as the dominant language of communication in the area, especially among the younger generations in school (1). What I observed is that some Mapuche families, especially the more assimilated ones, although not overly vocal against it, did not care much about the usage of the *Mapudungún*. They did not teach it to their children and opposed its teaching in schools (2).They saw the *Mapudungún* as a language that leads to exclusion from the possibilities of advancement in the mainstream Chilean culture and as a form of regression leading them backwards to times of less developed stages in their lives as indigenous people (CONADI, 1998; Painemilla, 2003; Bello, Marimán et al., 1997).

On the other hand, families with higher degrees of resistance to the dominant Chilean culture were clearly upset and saddened by the lack of skills in the *Mapudungún* especially of the younger Mapuche generations at school.

The existance of the issue concerning how much validity should be given to the Mapuche language and its usage in the communities and schools, remains controversial. Nevertheless, *Mapudungún* is still alive in the ADI-Budi and certain groups and communities, also shows an important amount of code-switching and lexical borrowings between the *Mapudungún* and the Spanish, especially among the younger Mapuche population. Although in rural spaces some of the code-switching practices do not become as intense as in some urban spaces where bilingual Mapuche poetry combined with Rock and Rap has developed code switching patterns which is a hallmark of current urban Mapuche youth cultural resistance (Añiñir, 2005).

In rural Piedra Alta, although youngsters used some *Mapudungún* in their personal communications and also code-switching patterns as playful markers of identity and demarcation of cultural territory (Jacobson, 2000; Durán 1994; Heller, 1988), it came across to me that Spanish is the prevalent language of interaction both within the school and in the community of Piedra Alta, at least in the presence of *Winkas* (outsiders non-Mapuche), such as myself. In the Mapuche house where I lived for 6 months there was definitely very little *Mapudungún* spoken among the five family members. The parents used it to communicate between themselves in certain instances, but not to communicate with their children, unless it was related to the reinforcement of command orders. My observations at the IBE programs at the school of Piedra Alta showed me something similar to what I observed in the community and in the Mapuche household in which I lived: the *Mapudungún* language had an important presence, but Spanish was the dominant language. Spanish had become the main language of daily interactions and the language preferred by younger people. As a matter of fact, of the sample of 9 students with which I had in-depth interviews, seven of them considered Spanish has their first language. Of course the situation of *Mapudungún* being the second language of preference changed for celebrations and community traditional ceremonies, in which *Mapudungún* becomes the only language used.

According to the *Línea de Base* report of the Ministry of Planning (1999), a very detailed study of the socio-cultural and economic situation in the Mapuche communities of the ADI-Budi, of the population older than 6 years old, 33.2% speaks fluently and considers the *Mapudungún* their first language, 43.2% understands it quite well, and 4.8% writes it well. A recent important sociolinguistic ethnographic study done in Piedra Alta by two researchers from the University of Sienna, Italy (Canuti & Pedone, 2002) is more optimistic about the usage of the *Mapudungún* in the Mapuche communities and schools of the area. Their ethnographic work, based on extensive interviews, mentions they encountered high levels of bilingual competence in both schools (Piedra Alta and Deume) and in the nine communities of Piedra Alta. In the case of Piedra Alta school, with a 98% Mapuche student population, their research indicated that the majority (60%) of the interviewed students had *Mapudungún* as their first language. A large majority (86% of the students interviewed) mentioned understanding it more-or-less, with 53% saying to speak it well and 26% knowing how to write it well. In their interviews, 54% mentioned their mother was the person from whom they had learned the *Mapudungún* and 83% mentioned their mothers was the main person with which they spoke it. Another similar sociolinguistic ethnographic study which could also serve as a reference for the usage of the Mapudungún in other similar Mapuche communities of the Araucanía, was conducted north of Temuco by Giannelli and Cucini (2002), also from the University of Sienna. They interviewed 105 people in four Mapuche communities located near the cities of Ercilla and Galvarino (north of the city of Temuco), which are also areas of high Mapuche concentration. In their research, they found that 55% of the interviewees spoke *Mapudungún well*, 35% could write it more-or-less well, 88% spoke it in their family environment, 52% of the parents spoke bilingually with their children, and 57% of those interviewed had *Mapudungún* as their first language.

Clearly these two sociolinguistic ethnographic studies on the current usage of the *Mapudungún* in the communities of the Araucanía, in areas of high Mapuche

concentration are an important reference about the vitality and usage of *Mapudungún* in rural ancestral communities, including Piedra Alta. The issue of the current usage of *Mapudungún* in Mapuche rural communities, however, is still a highly debated matter and needs further research to arrive at a clear consensus among language specialists.

For some, the results of the researchers from the University of Sienna are far more optimistic than the reports of other researchers in the field. Critics of the reports from the University of Sienna argue that it is one thing to interview people about their language usage and linguistic behaviors using a questionnaire and another to observe the real language usage that takes place in the in the field, on a daily basis and in the social interaction of the members of a community (Duranti, 1997; Course, 2006).

What I observed in the IBE program of the school of Piedra Alta, in the Mapuche family with which I lived in the community of Conoco-Budi and in my informal daily interaction with members of several Mapuche communities in the ADI-Budi was that, although the Mapudungún language was always clearly present in one way or another, it was respected and well-liked by the vast majority of all Mapuche people that I met in this rural environment, *Mapudungún* was very far from being the preferred and dominant language for daily interactions among Mapuche youngsters at school and Mapuche people in general, in public spaces of the community. A generational divide was alsoevident; the older generations were more familiar with it than the younger ones and as mentioned before a clear divide in relation with the degrees of assimilation or resistance that Mapuche families showed towards Chilean culture. Being the less assimilated families the ones who spoke Mapudungún the most (Díaz-Coliñir, 1998).

My concluding observations in relation to the usage of the *Mapudungún* language in Piedra Alta consistently showed me that the Spanish language was definitely used the most by the younger generations. By the children in the IBE program at school, in the homes that I visited and in the community public settings in the ADI-Budi that I observed.

Clearly there is a need for more linguistic ethnographic research to determine in a more precise way the current usages of the of the Mapudungún language in the ADI-Budi communities. It might also be possible that my presence as a non-Their and a native Spanish speaker had an impact on the language patterns that Mapuche people used in my presence. But my perception, however was that the *Mapudungún* language in Piedra Alta, with the exception of religious ceremonial celebrations, was seldom used more than 30% of the time in daily interactions among the Mapuche older generations and very little if at all used among the younger generations in school. One of the main problems that the *Kimches* have encountered as instructors in the IBE program of the school of Piedra Alta has been the little command that current Mapuche students at school have of the *Mapdungún* language (Painemilla, 2003; Millao, 2003).

Chapter 6:

Kimches and Kimün: Enabling counter-narratives and hybrid identities in the school of Piedra Alta

6.1. The school of Piedra Alta and the IBE program

The school of Piedra Alta is located in the community of Conoco in the ADI-Budi, 50 miles south of the town of Puerto Saavedra (map 2). It is part of the network of schools in the region of the Araucanía owned by the Catholic Church and administered by its educational wing the *Fundación del Magisterio de la Araucanía.* It is an *Escuela Básica* with courses from 1st to 8th grades (equivalent in the US to an elementary school plus two years of middle school). This "Ciclo Básico" (1-8 grades) is sub-divided into two cycles (1-4 and 5-8) (1). The schools in the indigenous communities, including the ADI-Budi, do not have beyond the Ciclo de Educación Básica (1th to 8th grade), so Mapuche students interested in going to middle and high school (Educación Media), which goes from 9th to 12th grades, must migrate to an urban center in order to continue their studies.

The student population of the school of Piedra Alta at the time of my research (during 2002-2004) was of 99 children (49 boys and 50 girls), 98% of them of Mapuche origin, about 60% of whose first language is *Mapudungún* (Canuti & Pedone, 2002). Currently there are 5 teachers, including the school principal, who has a double assignment as a teacher and administrator and four *Kimches* (traditional Mapuche teachers hired from the community), who are instructors in the IBE program and who also function as *Asesores Culturales* (cultural advisors) in the school at large. The school has three combined multilevel courses in grades; one and two, three and four, five and six, plus 2 single courses; 7^{th} and 8^{th} grades. Each course has a single

teacher. The courses in the IBE program are taught by *Kimches* who team-teach with a regular teachers assigned to each course.

The school facilities consist of a series of one-story buildings, mainly of wood, built 20 years ago, which are in fairly good conditions and include five classrooms, a library, a teacher's lounge-meeting room, a computer lab with 6 computers with internet access, a radio room, and a cafeteria, a playground with soccer and volleyball courts, three two-bedroom residential houses on-campus for faculty members and their families and a garage with basic mechanical facilities for maintenance of the school bus and of the school facilities. All five teachers live in faculty housing within the school premises. Two pairs are married, and each couple has their children in the school, which constitute the 2% of the non-Mapuche student population in the school. The wife of the 5th teacher, although lived in a house on campus with her husband, does not work at the school. At the point of my study, none of the teachers were of Mapuche origin, and they and their spouses were the only non-Their, full-time residents in the locality of Piedra Alta.

Although for many students the school is located within a walking distance of home, there is a school bus that covers the route for the ones who live at a farther distance. Children are picked up by the school bus in the mornings before classes at eight and delivered back home at the end of school day at 3:30 in the afternoon. All 99 children receive free lunch in the school. The students come from the nine communities in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta. The neighboring school of Deume, which is also part of the network of schools of the *Magisterio de la Araucanía*, is also located in the locality of Piedra Alta and also serves part of the nine communities that form it.

The Piedra Alta school is part of a *Microcentro Educacional* of five schools in the area called *Meli-Cijkatwe*. The concept of *Microcentros Educacionales* was established by the Ministry of Education in conjunction with the educational agency of the Municipality of Puerto Saavedra in order to group into small administrative school units a group of schools which are geographically near and have similar cultural and

socio-economic and linguistic characteristics. This was done in order to facilitate teacher training, in-service staff development, share resources and develop mutual support activities on a wider basis than a single school (Hernández, 2003). Piedra Alta shares the microcentro *Meli-Cijkatwe* with the neighboring community schools of Deume, Ruka-Raki, Huapi and Puaucho. These schools have a very similar student Mapuche population and face similar educational challenges. The staff members maintain close contact through common staff development activities as do students through sport competitions; volleyball for the girls, and soccer and the traditional Mapuche game of *Palín* (similar to field hockey) for the boys. During my stay in Piedra Alta, I had the opportunity to participate in several of these cultural and sports events which took place between several microcentros in the ADI-Budi area. These competitive tournaments have become important events for the participating schools and the communities involved in them.

The school of Piedra Alta became well-known during the late 1990s and early 2000s when the *CONADI* (National Office of Indigenous Affairs) began to implement a series of pilot programs on Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in different areas of the Araucanía. Piedra Alta was chosen as an experimental site in the ADI-Budi and it soon developed a reputation for its innovative pedagogical practices, including the hiring of Mapuche community members *(Kimches)* to become instructors in its IBE program. Part of the leading role of the school in IBE programs in the Mapuche context and of the implementation of innovative educational activities took place during the years in which the former principal Jorge Calfuqueo, a Mapuche community leaders and activist from Puerto Saavedra, was the principal of the school. Although I had briefly met Mr. Calfuqueo in 2002, when I first visited the school of Piedra Alta as part of a staff development session, organized by the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas of the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, by the time I arrived to do my field research in 2003, principal Calfuqueo had departed, as had six out of the seven teachers that he had appointed to work with him in the school, during his tenure.

Although the IBE pilot program in the school of Piedra Alta became quite successful and developed a reputation at the national and international level, like the vast majority of IBE programs in the country, it remained to be classified as a PEI *(Programa de Educación Institucional),* the programs that the Ministry of Education has allowed to be developed individually and independently by school districts or schools according to their interests, but which have not become part of the regular mainstream curriculum, remaining at the level of non-mandatory cultural awareness workshops. Since the courses in the IBE programs at the school of Piedra Alta have not been incorporated into the regular academic program and take place during only four of the eight weekly hours of instructional time assigned for workshop activities, they are based on a pass or fail grading system and have lesser credits than do the courses on mainstream academic subject matters. Although *Kimches* as instructors in the IBE program use a small amount of the *Mapudungún* language during their classroom instruction, the Ranguileo written alphabetical transcription form (2) is the one that is used in the IBE classroom. Code-switching back and forth from Spanish into *Mapudungún* and vice-versa is a regular event in the IBE classrooms, but the Mapudungún language, as an independent subject matter is not officially taught in the school.

6.1.a Indigenous educational policy in the school of Piedra Alta

> *"Young people who have grown up lately have begun learning Spanish and have learned how to read. Their teachers taught then how to speak Spanish, so they have forgotten their own Mapuche language. I often think and I get sad, because my work as a* Machi *(Shaman) is no longer understood by the young. The young girls that have grown up, do not dress as I do anymore, they dress like the Winka. I bring health to the sick. I call the father God and the mother Goddess to cure the*

ill, so they will be in good health on the earth. So their children that are coming will also be in good health. That is the matter that concerns me. Now the young people do not consider when there is prayer to the Gods, and in hiding they mock these beliefs. Behind my back they are mocking me. They do not listen to my words, they despise my words, and they prefer the Spanish language they have learned with their teachers. That is what they have in their hearts and minds."

Machi Carmen Curín (1995).

This dramatic statement of a *Machi* (Shaman) on the state of affairs of assimilation and the loss of traditional culture, language, values and ancestral practices among Mapuche youngsters in rural communities is very indicative of a widespread phenomena easy to detect in the Mapuche communities at large, in both urban and rural environments (Saavedra, 2002; Coñoenado, 2005; Painequeo 2005). The ADI-Budi, including the communities in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta, are no exception to this situation, and the levels of assimilation and cultural and linguistic loss among Mapuche school age children is very noticeable.

Although, the Catholic Church of today is not the Catholic Church of the Inquisition during colonial times, and has become a far more tolerant and flexible institution in its evangelizing processes towards indigenous people, especially after the 1960s and the renewed philosophical approaches of the "Theology of Liberation" and the State in Chile today, after the end of the dictatorship and the reestablishment of a democratic system in the early 1990s, is currently trying to repair the social fabric destroyed after two decades of harsh political repression, the assimilation processes leading to an almost complete cultural and linguistic loss, has been very strong among the Mapuche (Saavedra, 2002). The the current Mapuche generations of children which already felt the cultural impact of the assimilation of their ancestors over many generations, have grown up in the cultural and linguistic context of almost total

assimilation (Saavedra, 2002). Under the heavy influence of the dominant culture, especially through the audio-visual and digital media in the age of a dominant neoliberal globalization, there are some authors like Saavedra (2002) who argue that, at this point the cultural and linguistic loss of the Mapuche people is almost complete and Mapuche youngsters are forced today towards a far more hybrid cultural construction of identity than any of the previous indigenous generations ever did.

So, in this sense, the dichotomy and distance of the school discourse as a reaffirmation of the dominant discourse, which used to be totally opposed to the community's discourse, has become less differentiated and confrontational. The traditional gap between the school and the indigenous communities as an abysmal distance which characterized the traditional colonial settings, today is not so dramatic as it used to be. This is due to a shift from both sides towards less essentialist positions, and a convergence towards a more central, negotiated and hybrid position.

During my observations in the Piedra Alta school, the famous portrait of the withdrawn *"Silent Indian"* (Foley, 1996) as part of the indigenous cultural resistance in the classroom, was never to be seen by me in the IBE classes. In this school it was always clear for me to see that students were highly active, vocal, motivated by being there, and participatory. They had a clear sense of entitlement and appropriation of the institutional spaces of the school in which they were. On the contrary, it seemed to be a constant struggle that the *Kimches* (traditional teachers) and the regular teachers with whom they team-taught in the IBE program, had to struggle constantly to keep the children silent and listening to the classroom delivery, just like all children in elementary school everywhere. During my ethnographic work in the Piedra Alta school, I never saw students who looked alienated from the institution, as if he or she were not in a place in which he or she did not belong. The school environment of Piedra Alta did not seem to me to be a place in which the Mapuche students needed to resist, directly or indirectly through silence or disruption, in order to defend who they where. Mapuche children in this school seemed to me to be very happy to be in their

school and quite happy to be who they are. Their sense of Mapucheness was quite strong but not militant and it came across to me as a natural thing among a group of children in a school located in an indigenous community in which 98% of students where of Mapuche origin.

In terms of the classroom learning environment, the focus of my direct ethnographic classroom observation was the IBE program and not the regular classes, so, although I participated as a teacher in some regular classes, especially of English, I cannot give a certain account of them. In the IBE program classrooms I certainly did not at all encounter the portrait that echoes the findings by Avalos (1986) related to poor indigenous schools in Latin America (case in point Bolivia), where the teacher assumes the role of a harsh disciplinarian in tight control of the classroom, where a *"Law and Order"* approach is enforced by intimidation of physical or verbal abuse, as the instructor, through a monologue of authority inhibits all verbal communication (as if it where an inferior mode of communication than writing), emphasizes learning through dictation, repetition and memorization. I certainly saw nothing like that in the IBE classrooms of the Piedra Alta school, where I observed. On the contrary, I saw a quite vocal and participatory group of children, maybe not always very interested in the subject matters that was being covered by the *Kimches* or their teachers, but in classroom environments in which dynamics of dialogue and constructivist interactions among teachers and peers took place in a very different ways than in the the draconian environments portrayed by many studies about colonial indigenous education.

Although important changes have taken place towards a larger incorporation of the community's culture and language into the Piedra Alta school (the hiring of *Kimches* as teachers in the IBE program the principal one), it is important to mention that important differences still remain between the culture of the school and of the community. It is also important to mention that in the Mapuche context schools have not been transferred to the Mapuche leadership and their communities and still remain in the hands of the two institutions which have always controlled indigenous education

in Chile; the State and the Church. This, even in cases such as Piedra Alta, where 98% of the student population is Mapuche and which is located on a Mapuche reservation in an area of indigenous development.

Schools in the Mapuche context remain defined as institutions upholding the dominant mainstream Chilean culture, language and values and maintain important trends towards assimilation and levels of cultural disconnection towards the culture and language of the Mapuche community's which they serve, creating with this what Gee (1996) refers to as an *"Asynchronicity of Discourses"* between schools and communities. According to Díaz-Coliñir (1997), the *"Asynchronicity of Discourses"* between the Mapuche communities and the schools in the Mapuche context in reservations, such as the ones in the ADI-Budi, still remains strong. Her ethnographic work argues that Mapuche students are negatively impacted by the mis-match between the forms of pedagogical approaches and knowledge transmission between the schools they attend and the Mapuche communities in which they live. According to her study, the asynchronicity existing between these two forms of pedagogical discourses (school and community) and the asymmetric relationships of power that are created at the point of cultural contact between both cultures (in and out of the classroom) demeans and disregards the value of the indigenous home culture and language of the students, producing with this a great negative impact and stressing the Mapuche childrens' perceptions of reality, personality development and identity construction processes. According to her, the negative value that the mainstream Chilean culture in power gives to a subordinated and stigmatized group, such as the Mapuche, has a tremendous negative impact in the Mapuche children's self-esteem; who of course do not want to become identified with everything that is undesirable and negative in a social group. The logic of the "ethnic mascarading" and "identity shifts" towards denying their ethnic backgrounds and ancestral traditions as Mapuche (Hernández, 1993) becomes quite evident in the students at many points of their schooling, and has a disturbing

effect on their self-esteem, emotional well-being and intellectual development (Díaz-Coliñir, 1999).

Mapuche educational scholars (Marimán, 2000; Hernández, 2003; Díaz-Coliñir, 1999) argue that one of the most important changes that the educational system must make to solve this asymmetry of power and its insidious impact on the self-esteem of indigenous children, should go in the direction of de-colonizing epistemological perspectives by validating traditional Native American cultures and their indigenous knowledge as a knowledge which makes an important cultural contributions to human development at large, such as many other non-European cultures have been recognized (Calquín, 2005; Wilson, 2004; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1998).

The Piedra Alta school, although it has made important changes towards better and more symmetric constructions of cultural interactions between both mainstream Chilean and Mapuche culture in the school, still remains as an educational institution controlled by the State and the Church, both institutions which are not notable for being revolutionary in terms of cultural change. Perhaps a difference in the situation could occur if schools in Mapuche communities were run by the Mapuche communities and leaders themselves, but that does not seem likely anytime soon in Chile.

6.1.b. Teachers perceptions of IBE programs, students and community in Piedra Alta

> *By definition, IBE programs are good, but I do not agree much with the way in which they are being applied today in Chile, because there is a great deal of confrontation in the process of putting them to work. Of course, knowledge of their ancestral traditions and language is a very important thing for the self-esteem and identity of my Mapuche students. But, unfortunately I do not think it has a* larger projection for advancement and social mobility of Mapuche *students in a wider Chilean mainstream context. So, I think that the*

value of IBE programs in the Mapuche context is above all something that works at the personal level of the students, and their self-esteem and identity construction process but not in a more pragmatic educational way. Of courses IBE programs are important and have positive impacts in students when they see that their family and community knowledge and language are respected and valued by the school. But beyond that and in practical terms of skills and knowledge that children are going to need to do better outside of their communities, I do not see much projection of IBE programs. I think they should be established for the early years in school and not go beyond elementary schooling.

Teacher in Piedra Alta

When I initially began as an instructor in the IBE program in 1996, we probably had 80% of the Mapuche community opposing the program. Today after almost 8 years I believe that the opposition has narrowed down to less than 50%. Nevertheless, I still receive constant complaints from Mapuche parents asking me why so much Mapuche history and language is taught at the school, when they want their children to learn things that will serve them in the Winka (non-Mapuche) world.

Kimche in Piedra Alta

Although none of the five teachers at the Piedra Alta school were Mapuche, I cannot say that I ever saw any kind of discriminatory attitude on their part nor attitude devaluing Mapuche culture, language or the children in the school. Neither did I see them trying to implement any obvious school policy in that direction. On the contrary, the added presence of the four *Kimches* (Native Mapuche instructors) hired by the school as instructors in the IBE program and as *Asesores Culturales* for the school at large, enormously enhanced the presence of the Mapuche culture and language in the IBE classrooms and in the school settings at large.

Nevertheless, the bottom line of the school educational policies responded to the ideology of the State and of the Catholic Church and where implemented by five non-Mapuche faculty members. So, although the Piedra Alta school with 98% Mapuche students, located on a Mapuche reservation did have a tolerant, eclectic and post-modern approach to ethnic issues and Mapuche culture and language, its role was clearly defined as an institution of formal schooling whose objective had been defined to prepare indigenous children to perform in the mainstream Chilean cultural and linguistic context, and not a place which by definition was devoted to the recovery of the Mapuche culture and language and to the construction of a Mapuche persona, aimed at living in a Mapuche community.

The Mapuche communities, ambiguous in their opposition to IBE programs and about having schools involved in the construction of the Mapucheness of their children, seemed to be quite content to have an all-Chilean faculty in the Piedra Alta school. I never heard any complaints about the departure of the former Mapuche Principal Calfuqueo, who had tried to instill a more militant position towards a Mapuche-centered approach in the school. Neither did I hear any parent complaining about not having more Mapuche teachers in the school, as I did hear concerns and opposition of Mapuche parents to having Mapuche *Kimches*, with no college degrees nor formal training in education, teaching Mapuche cosmology and *Mapudungún* to their children in school classrooms. It always came across to me very clearly that the majority in the Mapuche communities of Piedra Alta assigned to the school the role of a place where Mapuche children went to learn the ways of the *Winka* (non-Mapuche Chileans), its culture and the Spanish language, and saw very little interest in the school becoming a hub for Mapuche culture and language.

Five teachers, being non-Mapuche, had different approaches and interests in indigenous people, cultures and education. The two younger male teachers who taught 7^{th} and 8^{th} grades, were very pro-active and seemed very comfortable working in an indigenous setting and dealing with issues concerning it. The two female teachers,

spouses of two of the three male teachers, were less enthusiastic about the place in which they were assigned to work. I got the impression that the indigenous context and the issues related to indigenous education did not seemed to be their main interest; they where in the Piedra Alta school because of decisions of their husbands, more than their own. The other male teacher, who was older and also had the role of the principal of the school, had an intermediate position between these two approaches. But in all fairness, I never saw, from any of the five teachers, anything which resembled a form of disdain or discrimination towards the Mapuche culture, language or the students at the school. Since they clearly had very different levels of interest towards Mapuche culture and language, their volunteer participation in community events and programs that went beyond the job description requirement, were very different according to their degrees of interests.

In relation to the two young teachers who were most involved in the IBE program, I was very impressed to encounter a couple of young people (4 and 5 years of classroom experience) who not being Mapuche and having had very little of IBE formal training during their teacher training courses in college, had such a clear sense of the weaknesses and strengths of the Mapuche children in their classrooms and the Mapuche parents in the community in which they lived. It was refreshing to see young teachers, who genuinely respected and trusted their students, their parents and the Mapuche community at large. Teacher who were connected with the parents of their students, participated in community affairs and had great attitudes in the face of the harsh difficulties and challenges of working in an impoverished, conflictive and rural indigenous setting where non-indigenous people are not always easily welcomed. Besides, working in a setting in which the material conditions of life can be quite challenging, it was clear to see that they enjoyed their work in the school and were committed to the socio-cultural and political agenda of the communities in which they were working and living.

The principal of the school, whom I had met on a previous visit, a year before, during my pre-dissertation field research, was in a position of power and showed less enthusiasm about the Mapuche cause than did the two younger teachers, but supported the idea of strengthening the Mapuche culture in the school, and was clearly an ally of the current Mapuche communities' socio-political agenda. His first priority, however,was to make sure that the primary role of the school was to comply with the programs and requirements of the *Ministerio de Educación* who set the curriculum and methodologies of instruction and of the *Magisterio de la Araucanía*, the educational wing of the Catholic Church, that owns and runs the school.

The principal was a non-Mapuche, who had lived many years in the Araucanía and who had worked several years in the Piedra Alta community. He was fluent in *Mapudungún* and felt that it was a legitimate concern and a right of the Mapuche people to get involved in the recovery of their ancestral cultural traditions, but he was not very keen about the school becoming the center point from which community re-ethnification and cultural recovery processes start. He was clearly not in agreement with the militant activist way that his predecessor, Principal Calfuqueo, had run the school during his tenure from 1998 to 2002. Once appointed in 2003, the current principal had brought back a Chilenizing approach to the school. He did not allow the Mapuche flag to replace the Chilean flag as it had under the previous administration, nor the Chilean national anthem sung in the *Mapudungún* language anymore. The community radio programs, designed by former principal Calfuqueo to broadcasted from the school premises, was stopped and on the school calendar of events, Chilean historical dates were celebrated again as a long list of Mapuche celebrations that had been taking place at the school were reduced to the most important ones only.

Soon after I arrived for my observation in the school, a high ranking official from the Catholic Church also arrived for a visit, something that had not taken place in several years. The Catholic bishop was initially received with a Mapuche ceremony performed by the children before a Catholic mass took place in the church adjacent to

the school. The students, parents and the community seemed to be quite happy with his presence.

The current principal of Piedra Alta (who was also an English teacher) was very instrumental and generous by allowing me to do my field research in his school. I am quite sure that due to the political tensions between some Mapuche community leaders in the ADI-Budi with the regional educational state agencies and their *Winka* officials, other school principals of schools in the area would have allowed me as a *Winka* coming from an American university to do research in their schools. In my previous visit former Principal Calfuqueo from Piedra Alta had shown very little interest in authorizing my research in his school, and I have no doubt that Mr. Calfuqueo had remained as a Principal, my possibilities of doing research in that school would have been very dim.

The more principals and teachers of different schools of the ADI-Budi that I met during my field work, the clearer this point came across to me. The tension between the Mapuche leadership and the government in the ADI-Budi between 2002 and 2004 where very high and were increasing. I was quite lucky to have been allowed by the current principal to do my field research in the school of Piedra Alta.

Although things have changes in the last two decades, Chile is not an exception in Latin America, in terms of being a Eurocentric culture with a deficit point of view towards Native Americans and their culture. A country with only a 4.6% of indigenous people, Chile is a highly stratified society, in which the higher up the social scale one goes, the closer it associates with the values of European cultures and languages; the lower one gets, the more is stereotyped and devalued as being closer to the Native American culture. Teachers, who are part of a poorly paid profession (average income in 1998 of $6.800 dollars a year after 25 years of service, with an average retirement of $300 dollars a month), are a product and many times the enforcers of a cultural environment in which such values are dominant. Teacher training colleges and educational programs generally, are not designed to empower a subordinate minority,

such as the Mapuche, but on the contrary, to reproduce (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1983) the dominant discourses (Gee, 1996) and the asymetrical relations of power (McLaren, 2002; Apple, 1990) between ethnic and cultural groups, existing since early colonial times. In the whole country, there are only 3 universities that offer teacher training for IBE education and only one at the graduate level. None of the five teachers at the Piedra Alta school had any training in IBE or multicultural education.

Teachers in Chile are prepared to become normalizing agents in schools by standardizing and molding students' behaviors into the ideals of the national mainstream project, values and norms and to subordinate groups through surveillance practices (Luykx, 1999; Davini, 1995). It is not a coincidence that teacher colleges in Chile, until very recently, were called *"Escuelas Normales,"* which literally means "Schools for Norms" and teachers were called *"Normalistas,"* that is "the ones who transmit and enforce the norms" in the socialization process of children. Unfortunately schools' assimilating functions, backed-up by teachers' ideologies and training programs, currently respond more to a neo-colonial logic when referring to indigenous education, than to anything else (Williamson, 2005). What remains generally true is that the schooling system, although it has made important changes since the reestablishment of democracy in the early 1990s, is still highly authoritarian in essence (Herrera, 2000). Of course, some historical attempts have been made to revert this situation and that is how, in 1971, Paolo Freire joined the faculty of the school of education of the University of Chile in Santiago, during the years of the socialist government of Salvador Allende. But that was short lived as a military dictatorship in 1973 seized power for the next 18 years. After the reestablishment of democracy in the early 1990s, educational reforms brought some changes to the mainstream educational system and the discourse of participation and democratic values became again an important part of the educational context, but in essence the Chilean educational system which remains centralized and with a top-to-bottom dynamic of decision making, continues to be defined in many ways by the guidelines established during the

years of the dictatorship and before. For the established educational policies, the need continues for creating a working force in tune with the dominant neo-liberal economic system and its global expansion towards the third world.

In the current school reforms of the last 15 years, IBE has not been considered an academic subject matter, i.e., it is not part of the regular curriculum; it has remained an extracurricular workshop activity under the organization of *Programas de Educación Institucional,* to be implemented voluntarily by schools as alternative enrichment non-mandatory programs (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2005).

When talking about the possible implementation of IBE and multicultural programs in schools, it is very important to consider the ambiguities of the Mapuche grassroots position in relation with these programs (CONADI, 1995). This is a perspective in which schools are not expected to be a place for youngsters to become more Mapuche and more indigenous. Rather, schools are expected to be a place where the Mapuche children can acquire the codes and cultural capital to acquire social mobility in the mainstream dominant Chilean culture. Although the intellectual, Mapuche elite has proposed that schools and especially IBE programs to become cultural spaces from which a new critical Mapucheness and an ethnic nationalistic conscience can emerge (Williamson, 2005; Marimán, 1997), I think their call has not been herd by the non-elite, Mapuche communities (CONADI, 1995).

In this sense, the new principal at Piedra Alta has been quite in tune with what the Mapuche community at-large-seems to expect from his school. That is, a place to acquire the ways, knowledge and Spanish language of the *Winka* (mainstream Chilean) rather than a place to become more Mapuche, which according to many Mapuche, that should take place at home and in the community and not in schools, a position which has not been easily accepted by the Mapuche, intellectual, urban-elites. The later have envisioned the Mapuche school as an institution to be in the hands of the indigenous communities where re-ethnification processes start from strong IBE programs, focused on culture and linguistic revitalization. This leadership proposes the idea of Mapuche

schools as a places from which the ideology of the future autonomous Mapuche nation will plant the seeds to emerge in the future.

According to Sergio Painemilla (2004) the principal Kimche in the Piedra Alta school, from having an approximately 80 % of the Mapuche community of Piedra Alta opposed to IBE programs when he initially began as an instructor in 1996, after almost 8 years, he believes the opposition has narrowed down to a 50%. Nevertheless, he still receives complaints from parents asking him why so much Mapuche history and language is taught at school when they want their children to learn things that will serve them in the *Winka* (non-Mapuche) world.

The existing debate within the Mapuche communities on the value of IBE programs in schools is apparently very contradictory and has many elements of the complexities of colonialism and the asymmetric relations of power that it creates. It can be placed within what Díaz-Coliñir (1998) calls the degrees of assimilation vs. resistance of Mapuche rural families, i.e., the lower the levels of assimilation, the higher their support to EIB in schools. However, this issue also has a very pragmatic aspect to it, because many Mapuche parents, knowing that their children will probably become migrants to the cities, want them to be prepared as best as they can for the mainstream Chilean world, a process in which they see the school playing a main role.

6.2. Kimches and Mapuche Kimün as agents of cultural and linguistic change at school

The school as a primary agent for socialization of children, traditionally has served the role of reproducing and validating the preferred knowledge, values, languages and power relations existing among the categories of class, gender, age, ethnic and linguistic hierarchies within a social group (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1974). However the potential for schooling to go beyond the reproduction of social relations and having an impact in social change by creating a transformative consciousness is

also an important possibility (Freire & Faúndez, 1989). Within this perspective, the classroom becomes a contested ideological arena where different cultures and languages deploy their dominance over subordinate ones, which are dismissed by exclusion and silence (Giroux, 1997). This concept is not a new one, and the intellectual power struggle for cultural and linguistic dominance in the classroom has been especially clear in the schooling of indigenous people whose worldviews and perspectives on knowledge construction and languages have been excluded from the *Modern* academic environment (Cajete, 2000; Yazzie, 2000). Case in point, is the Mapuche people of Chile, whose culture and language has historically been at odds with the Modern European colonizing culture and has been excluded from formal schooling since early Spanish colonial contact (Marimán, 1987).

But, currently, things are changing in the direction of validating indigenous knowledge, cultures and languages at school. One of the most important and innovative features of the current IBE program in the Piedra Alta school has been the incorporation of traditional Mapuche teachers from the community called *Kimches* as instructors in the IBE program**.** *Kimches (Kim/Knowledge-Che-/people)* who traditionally have been the repositories of the *Mapuche IK (Kimün)*, add a powerful connection between the school and the community, as they become teachers and direct social agents of transmission of the Mapuche culture and language in the school.

With the figure of the *Kimche* as an instructor in the IBE program of the school, the ever-present gap between the school and the community is reduced as the *Kimche* promotes recognition of the indigenous backgrounds of their students and enhances their self-esteem and ethnic identity by validating their native values, knowledge and language. It also promotes democratic practices, participation and empowerment of Mapuche parents and their communities in relation to schooling their children, by giving them the authority to designate the *Kimches* through a vote. This situation is still quite far from the indigenous communities themselves running their own schools, but it is a step in the right direction.

By using Mapuche *Kimün* as the main body of knowledge that guides instruction and by using an important amount of *Mapudungún* as the language of instruction, the Kimches begin reversing the historical relation of exclusion and subordination of the indigenous culture and language in the classroom. They move it towards a more equitable relation with the mainstream culture. Thus, the *Kimche* becomes a social agent of change as he or she challenges and shifts the asymmetric relation of power between these two cultures and languages in contact in the classroom.

Although, *Kimches* were the traditional Mapuche equivalent of scholars and teachers, holders of the indigenous knowledge of the communities, and played an important role in the cultural and linguistic transmission of the communities' ancestral values and knowledge, today school *Kimches* have a far less revered place in Mapuche society. Some *Kimches* in the schools are sometimes harshly criticized by the Mapuche parents who opposed IBE and their role as instructors in school. In many ways, *Kimches* are also at the center of the controversy taking place within the Mapuche communities concerning the validity of IBE programs in schools (Painemilla, 2003). But since they are also active members of the communities, their role as intermediaries between the school and the community is an important one, and many parents of the students, especially the mothers who more closely watch their children schooling, tend to maintain a closer relation with them. By being part of the community, *Kimches* also naturally create a stronger link between the school and the community than regular teachers do, because (due to the way the Chilean educational system is organized) the curriculum remains centrally controlled by the Ministry of Education. The communities (especially the indigenous ones) remain with very little decision-making in the schooling processes of their children, especially concerning the subject matters that they will study. In that sense the *Kimche* in the IBE program is enabled to bring into his or her classroom not only Mapuche community knowledge but also its concerns and perspectives.

It is important to mention that, although the *Kimches* should be considered as organic intellectuals (in the sense that Gramci refers to (Forgacs, 2000), because they come from grass-roots levels of their communities), they should not be seen as an equivalent to the Mapuche intellectual elite, which, in general, has been formed in the urban Western academy, and is a product of a Mapuche urban experience. Their work is based in universities, research centers or political parties and follows a Western intellectual tradition, although it might have a focus on issues in the rural ancestral communities. My field experience, as that of other researchers (Course, 2005), clearly indicated me a clear ideological distance between the Mapuche urban elites and the Mapuche rural dwellers in the rural communities. *Kimches* are part of the rural environments and have remained rooted in the traditional Mapuche epistemology, live in the rural communities and are actively involved in traditional religious ceremonial or traditional political roles and they are not to be seen as intellectuals in the European sense of the word (Painemilla, 2003) as Mapuche urban intellectual are. During my field research, I did not encounter urban Mapuche *Kimches*, which is not the case for other Mapuche traditional positions of authority, such as the *Longkos* (head of the community) or the *Machis* (Shamans) who have migrated to the cities and are to be found in both urban and rural spaces. The *Kimches* are clearly part of the rural ancestral Mapuche communities, and are not to be found in urban Mapuche settings.

The idea of *Kimches* in schools as *Asesores Culturales,* linking the cultures and languages of the school and the indigenous communities, was first proposed and incorporated into the IBE pilot program of the school of Piedra Alta in the mid-1990s by an NGO working with Mapuche agricultural development projects. Since then the idea has developed and consolidated in Piedra Alta and in many other IBE programs in the Mapuche context in the Araucanía, including schools sponsored by the official IBE programs of the Ministry of Education and the network of schools run by the *Magisterio de la Araucanía.*

The figure of the *Kimche* has not been implemented without problems and opposition coming from important part of the Mapuche rural communities; in some cases they have voiced their lack of trust in them as school teachers, considering them not to have the formal credentials nor enough education and pedagogical training to teach their children at school (Ancán, 2002).

The Piedra Alta school is an interesting case of this controversy, especially in relation with two of the current *Kimches* who began the IBE pilot programs in the school in 1996, Sergio Painemilla, an elder of the community linked directly with the Painemilla lineage of *Longkos* dominant in the community and Carlos Melinao a *Ngenpin* (master of ceremonies of the *Nguillatún*). These two *comuneros*, who were my main informants, are widely respected persons in the community-at-large, but as *Kimches* in the school, have encountered opposition by some community members who argue that *Kimches* are not teachers and that their knowledge is not enough for teaching their children in schools (Painemilla & Melinao, 2003). In some occasions they have been harshly criticized by some parents in the community, who said they have no formal academic credentials nor training in pedagogical matters. Besides that they teach too much about Mapuche history and *Mapudungún* in school to their children, who go there to learn the ways of the *Winkas* (mainstream Chileans), including Spanish language and science (Painemilla, 2004).

The *Kimche* Carlos Melinao told me that "although there is nothing personal against *Kimches* as members of the Mapuche communities, there is a natural lack of trust by some members of it, towards *Kimches* as teachers in schools. Some *Kimches* have definitely become unacceptable teachers by the community". A parent said to Melinao in a school meeting, referring to another *Kimche*, "He is not a teacher, he has no education so why should he be teaching our children in school. We oppose him in our school as a teacher". Sergio Painemilla, the main *Kimche* in Piedra Alta is more optimistic about this situation and argues that, although in the community there has been opposition towards *Kimches* teaching in schools, there is also a slow

improvement of the situation. In his words, "At the beginning, many Mapuche parents thought that taking the Mapuche culture into the school was going to takes us backwards, that Mapuche culture was not what people needed in schools, that schools where places to learn Spanish and everything needed by Mapuche children when they move to live to the cities. Now there are larger numbers of parents who have become enthusiastic about the idea of the *Kimches*. Some Mapuche people used to say that *Mapudungún* language was not worth at all, that it had no use outside of the community; now they have another opinion about it. The teaching of Mapuche culture in the school has had an important impact even in the parents of the children in school. We are slowly reversing a situation of large opposition to IBE programs by the Mapuche communities and *Kimches* as teachers, towards one of more acceptance and support."

6.2.a Mapuche *Kimün*: enabling *Kimches'* counter-narratives in the IBE classroom

> *As Kimches incorporate Mapuche IK (Kimun) into their classrooms as the main body of knowledge upon which their instruction is organized, they become social agents of change by validating a form of knowledge that has been devalued and silenced by the mainstream European-based modern academy for centuries (Cajete, 2000; Yazzie, 2000). It is by doing this intellectual confrontation of ideological universes that Kimches open a space in the IBE classroom for their students to develop a counter-hegemonic narrative of cultural resistance and decolonization with a clear Freirean sense of critical consciousness raising. It is at this point in which a space for critical reconstruction and validation of the indigenous perspective takes place and a new hybrid and negotiated indigenous identity emerges out of agency and cultural production.*
>
> *My field notes, 2004.*

Indigenous Knowledge (IK), as traditional ways of knowledge production, has been giving meaning, reward, support and identity to indigenous people, their cultures, languages and their environments in many different places of the world, since long before European colonization (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Cajete, 2000; Battiste, 2000). So, by its very nature, IK, as the main body of ideas with which indigenous people have constructed their interpretations and knowledge of the world, becomes a counter-hegemonic narrative to the narratives of European Modernity and its interpretations of reality (Giroux & McLaren, 1996). By challenging the discourse of European Modernity and of the historical interpretations of Western knowledge construction, IK,based on an oral tradition as an historical archive (Vansina, 1985), becomes part of the discourses of resistance and decolonization of the indigenous people which have produced it (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1998; Cajete, 2000; Battiste, 2000).

The *Kimche,* as the main voice in the classroom which brings the IK of the community into the learning environment enables a space for an alternative indigenous re-construction of reality, and becomes an agent of social change as he or she leads the students into a critical reflexive dialogue aimed at developing a Freirean stage of critical consciousness about their own cosmology, ancestral culture, language and their subjective positions in relation to the world that surrounds them (Shor and Freire, 1987). In this way the *Kimches* not only oppose the dominant forms of knowledge construction historically held as the only valid one in school, but also links the knowledge of the community with the knowledge of the school, and begin to co-participate actively in developing a critical educational perspective that bridges these two conceptual worlds, which has been historically so distant.

Although the Indigenous Emergence as a political movement in the 1990s has brought the indigenous movement and its demands to the current political front burners, the Mapuche culture and people as a whole have been for a long time living in resistance and opposition to the European-based dominant cultures of Chile and Argentina, both countries in which they live today. In this sense, Mapuche IK (*Kimün),*

which gives meaning and interpretation to the Mapuche world, has long been on the front line of the epistemological resistance towards the Modern Eurocentric knowledge base. It is at the heart of the Mapuche ancestral culture and the current re-ethnification processes, as proposed by the Mapuche intellectual elite (Curivil, 1999).

So the *Kimches*, as traditional scholars and teachers in the Mapuche communities, become by default agents of social, cultural resistance and the carriers of a counter-hegemonic discourse in the classroom, as they propose *Kimün* as a legitimate and valid form of knowledge construction. The sole fact that *Kimches* argue in favor of the recognition and validy of Mapuche *Kimün* in the classroom converts them into transformative critical educators, resisting and questioning the dominance of only one body of knowledge, the body of knowledge of the oppressor (Marimán, 1987).

In this sense, the concept of the classroom as a contested political arena, where different forms of knowledge battle for dominance (Giroux & McLaren, 1996), is at its best in the IBE Mapuche context when a *Kimche* in the classroom is validating the Mapuche Indigenous Knowledge and the Mapuche socio-cultural and historical perspectives that comes with it. It is at this point in which the reconfiguration of intellectual paradigms, through resistance and through questioning the dominant approach, begins to take place for Mapuche students in the IBE classroom. It is at this point in which the main narratives of Modernity and their positivistic approach as the only valid ones, are destabilized by the Kimche and new Vigotzkian process of reconstruction of knowledge begin to take place in a more eclectic conceptual environment.

The implicit or explicit mode of cultural and epistemological resistance towards Western knowledge construction (which is at the heart of Mapuche (IK) *Kimün* and of the discourse of the *Kimches* in the classroom as one of the main traditional figures responsible for its oral transmission to the younger generations) is not new at all (Saavedra, 2002). Mapuche cosmology and ways of phrasing the world have been at odds for centuries with the European Modern constructs of it (Bengoa,

2000). What is new, even to the point of being revolutionary, is the validating and bringing into the school's classroom learning environment this radically different and oppositional critical perspective of Mapuche (IK) *Kimün* now brought in by the *Kimches* after having been excluded from schools for centuries. This is the unheard part of this story and that is what I think to be the main contribution and uniqueness of the IBE program of the Piedra Alta school in the ADi-Budi.

6.2.b. A *Kimche* at work: the dynamics of an IBE classroom in Piedra Alta

> *At the begining it is difficult, because the students are in many ways disconnected to their own history and language. In a certain way, I have to entice them and make them understand that we are friends and we can have fun with the Mapudungún language, our past history and our traditions as Mapuche people. After a while, things change, besides I am a well known person in the community and the school so the students know my role in the school. They have learned through their older siblings what to expect from my classes. I always need to begin linking language and culture with ancestral traditions and establish class activities in which the students begin to discover things about their ancestral culture and language. I wish things would be different, but they are not. It does not happen by itself; there is a lot of ingrained natural resistance and one needs to convince them of the importance of becoming Mapuche again.*
>
> *Kimche Sergio Painemilla*

I think that the first thing to mentions at this point is that if anyone is expecting to see something very different taking place within and IBE classroom in school within a Mapuche context (such has the ones that I observed in the Lake Budi area, in the Piedra Alta school), they are definitively in for a great surprise; for me at the first

initial contact, there were not many things radically different or distinctively Mapuche in the classroom dynamics that I observed. In many ways, I found that the school and classroom settings that I encountered in Piedra Alta were very similar to many rural schools in Latin America and in Chile, which I had seen before,i.e., multilevel classrooms with the standard settings of desks for two students, chairs and blackboards, with little technology in them. Classrooms which although had a majority of indigenous students, including the teacher in some cases, had very little paraphernalia, indigenous motifs or displays of indigenous life to be seen in them. Classrooms with 30 to 40 children headed by a teacher struggling to keep their students motivated and interested in the learning objectives of the day or of the week, sometimes through a harsh disciplinarian teacher-centered approach, or other times through a more casual and familiar relation with their students. Classrooms with the dynamics of elementary school children, like all elementary school children all over the world, who in more ways than one probably are more interested in going out to play soccer or turn on the computer to play digital games than to listen to the stories of the creation of the universe by their ancestral gods.

Of course that my first impression was soon replaced by a more in-depth construct. As time went by I saw the more specific and unique features of the IBE program that I was observing. It it is important to mention however that for me, at first contact, the IBE classrooms in the Piedra Alta school was not an experience radically different from observing other elementary classrooms in Guatemala, Peru or the United States, which I had visited or in which I had taught bilingual education for years.

Having said this, there is no doubt that the IBE classroom dynamics in the school of Piedra Alta, and the Kimches as teachers in them, had some very distinctive features that defined their classrooms dynamics in very important and different ways.

One of these most important and unique features was that the curriculum, instructional guidelines and the whole logic, sequence and organization of the course

was based exclusively on the Mapuche calendar of ritual events celebrated by the indigenous Mapuche-Lafkenche communities in the ADI-Budi. That is, to say that the learning objectives that the *Kimches* were addressing in their IBE classrooms in the school, were linked directly with the ancestral celebrations that took place in the community. The instructional objectives and standards were coming from there and not from any other source. The sequence of instructional events of the IBE program at Piedra Alta was totally linked with the local cosmology and community ritual calendar of events. Although the holistic approach of Mapuche (IK) *Kimün* often led the class discussions in many directions, including towards historical re-interpretation and re-construction of events from the Mapuche-Lafkenche perspective of the *Kimches*, it was the Mapuche (IK) *Kimün* and the cosmological ancestral community celebrations which defined what the content and sequence in the IBE course would be.

Community ancestral events which had a fixed date of celebration during the year were the central points over which an establish sequence of curriculum took place. Such was the case of the *Nguillatún,* as the main thanksgiving ceremony to the deity *Gnechen,* which takes place in December, the Mapuche New Year which is celebrated in June, and the *Mingaco* and *Kelluwün,* as cooperative activities of planting, harvesting, and thresh. For these events the *Kimches* would begin addressing and teaching their students about them and their link with the Mapuche *Kimün* and cosmology almost a month before the celebration took place in the community. Other ceremonies, which did not have fixed dates (such as the *Machitún* as healing ceremonies done by the *Machis* (Shamans), the *Mafün* (weddings), the *Eluwün* (burials), the *Palín* (sports/ritual game like hockey on grass) or other unexpected events) were incorporated within the IBE curriculum as they occurred. In its holistic approach, *Kimün* covered cosmology in the *Nguillatún,* and also many areas such as astronomy and math-related when related with the calendar and the Mapuche New Year's celebration and earth science and agriculture when related with the *Mingaco* and *Kelluwün.* In many occasions Mapuche traditional music and instruments such has

the *kultrún* (drums), *trompe* (jew´s harp), *pifulka* (flute) and *trutruka* (wind instrument as a trumpet) were incorporated in classroom activities.

Since the communities of Piedra Alta are composed of a considerable number of *Mapuche-Lafkenches* from the Painemilla extended family lineage and network, another instructional strategy used very much by the *Kimche* Sergio Painemilla for giving meaning to his narratives of historical community reconstructions, was to address the thick web of interconnections of the members of the communities of Piedra Alta. He asked his students to draw genealogical trees mapping their ancestral interconnections as branches of a Foye (cinnamon) tree, which also happens to be the main sacred ritual tree of the Mapuche. They linked the names and histories of their grand-parents *(Folil-melche)(Four roots),* which for the Mapuche identity is fundamental, with the oral reconstruction of the local community and the larger Mapuche history. Genealogical trees, which promoted story-telling *(Epews)* of events in the communities which were all connected with a famous ancestral figure, including *Pascual Coña Painemilla*, a famous historical *Mapuche-Lafkenche* leader and negotiator of peace with the Chilean army at the end of the war of the *"Pacificación de la Araucanía"* in 1883. His memoirs, *Memorias de un Cacique Mapuche* published in 1930, have been considered as a key self-ethnographic documents of the Mapuche people. This book, one of the most important Mapuche ethnographic accounts, certainly the most relevant work among the *Mapuche-Lafkenches* in the communities in Lake Budi, was also an important secondary source of curriculum material over which *Kimche* Sergio Painemilla constructed his class. Based in the narratives of the events made by Coña in his memoirs, an important part of *Kimche* Panemilla's class delivery was also based on discussions and comparisons between the ancestral accounts of *Mapuche-Lafkenche* communities in Lake Budi as narrated by Coña and the current lives of these communities in the Lake area.

Although *Kimche* Painemilla also used some bibliographical materials of Spanish colonial chroniclers, such as the *"Cautiverio Feliz"* of Nuñez de Pineda (1673)

and *"La Araucana"* of Alonso de Ercilla (1578), (both Spanish authors clearly sympathetic with the Mapuche cause), the Mapuche cultural transmission through oral tradition was consciously very well guarded by the *Kimches* in their classrooms in Piedra Alta. They refused to make use of a written curriculum and textbooks upon which they would organize their courses and upon which their students would be required writing activities beyond the strictly necessary ones. Although the *Kimches* recognized the written word as part of the dominant literacy instruction leading to social mobility and status acquistion (Goody, 1987), in many ways the IBE courses were organized based on total oral transmission mode, avoiding writing as much as possible. Although a few students took some notes at some points of the classes, and *Kimches* did write in the blackboard (in the *Mapudungún* language and in Spanish) a good number of concepts they were talking about in class, the vast amount of instruction time was based on oral transmission of events in a story-telling approach. The *Kimches* were explicitly conscious about creating spaces for incorporating parts of the wide variations in Mapuche traditional pedagogical discursive practices, which include the *Pentukún* (greetings), *Ngülam* (advise), *Gnütram* (long stories and conversations with a pedagogical content), and the *Epew* (short stories) (Relmuán, 2001). The *Mapudungún* language was used by the *Kimches* only as a support language to the Spanish language, which in the school was dominant at all times and which was the language more widely undestood by the students. Although the *Mapudungún* was not prohibited at school in any way, I heard very little of it spoken spontaneously among the students in the IBE classroom, in the school at large, in the cafeteria, or in the sports recreational facilities. It was restricted to IBE classroom instruction and the sporadic use in class during brief episodes of code switching with the Spanish language that the *Kimches* did when a feature of Mapuche *Kimün* was discussed in class. At school, in and out of the IBE classroom, Spanish seemed to be the preferred and dominant mode of communication among students.

In terms of the classroom learning environments and teaching methodology, another thing that drew my attention since my early arrival was the tremendously strong sense of Mapucheness that *Kimches* and students had in that school. Although it is quite logical to anticipate that a school located in a Mapuche reservation/community with a 98% of Mapuche student population will have a very strong Mapuche identity, it is interesting to mention that I perceived this identity to come through in a very quiet but yet also very strong way. It was a presence which emerged without a direct confrontation with the mainstream ideology and language represented by the school, but that was there in the students and *Kimches* to be felt very clearly and which felt to be absolutely "at home."

It was my impression that the students in the IBE classrooms had a sense of being "home" in a certain *comfort zone* in which they were relaxed and totally comfortable by being there, even if, in some cases, they decided to disrupt the class by doing things all children do. It came across to me that, for many students in the IBE classes, many of the instructional issues that were addressed in class had probably been addressed previously by their parents and relatives at certain points in time at home. As matter of fact, the *Kimches* who were also part of the tightly interwoven network of relatives living in the communities from which the children came, were in many cases direct relatives of their students. So the familiarity between *Kimches* and students, who often had the same last names, also created a strong bond and a highly protected environment and an easy free-flowing interaction among the participants in class. I found that, due to the highly-interconnected nature of the communities in Piedra Alta, the interactions and levels of lineage and family connections of the *Kimches* with their students created relations almost similar to what parents have with their children at home. One of the students, happened to be the daughter of a *Kimche*, several other students were directly related with the *Kimches*, as nephews or grandsons. These family ties where also very important elements which defined the teacher-student interacctions and the classroom learning environment.

The methodologies that the *Kimches* used were in many ways linked to ancestral patterns of Mapuche pedagogy which I found to be quite constructivist and student-centered, motivating the students' inquiry and group participation, and creating a learning environment through direct field experience in which groups of students would engaged in projects of discovery of knowledge through questioning and active participation in the school or in community projects. An important component of the IBE class activities took place through field and outdoors activities.

Although Kimches, by validating Mapuche IK, did create implicitly or explicitly a counter-hegemonic narrative to the dominant discourse represented by the school, they did not do this by a direct confrontational approach, but through cautious adjustments to the changing conditions. Without proposing assimilation, their discourses suggested remaining Mapuche and fostering pride in their Mapuche culture and language, while at the same time they worked to improve the physical and material wellbeing of their students in order to continue their education in the mainstream leasrning institutions, of the mainstream Chilean environment. The push of the *Kimches* to motivate their students to continue their schooling beyond elementary school was big, and I did not encounter any student whose plans were not to continue to middle and high school outside of the community.

If any sort of evaluations took place, they were never written and basically consisted of small groups doing an oral report about an issue of community events or activities that students had to investigate on their own by asking about them to their parents, relatives or other older community members. Previous to my visit, during the tenure of the prior principal, students had participated in some projects of oral reconstruction of the history of the community by tape recording story-telling and other oral transmission activities to preserve myths, stories and usage of the language by the elders in the community. That project had ended, however, without leaving many things to account for the fieldwork which had been done by the students. For many in the community, the lack of interest in learning the *Mapudungún* language and

Mapuche traditions shown by many of the the younger generations in the school, was evidence of a generational breakdown in the transmission of the culture and language that had became stronger in the last decade (Painemilla, 2003). For some among the younger generation, they saw this issue as a consequence of the older generation not taking the time and effort to teach them the language nor their ancestral culture.

6.2.c. Portrait of a *Kimche:* An interview with Sergio Painemilla

My first interview with Sergio Painemilla, the main *Kimche* in the Piedra Alta school, was in his corn field, at the end of a long morning of work, during a day in late spring. I knew that the carton of wine that I had brought with me, would enhance our conversation and create the bond that Mapuche men develop around a glass of wine, but I also feared that the Mapuche rule of reciprocity would take this interview as it had with others, towards an endless continuum of openning several more cartons - which at a liter per carton - would lead to an intense pounding of the liver again. Bieng a moderate wine drinker, I thought that the rules of reciprocity and its endless generous gesture of *"returning a gift to the other"*, would be better served if I took a package of *mate* (green tea) as customary among many researchers from the United States and Europe when interviewing Mapuche men. But it had already come across to me very clear that the bond of intimacy (and in many ways the complicity) when the interview ended in a local illegal bar (the sale of wine is outlawed in the ADI-Budi), was irreplaceable. So, having a good stock of aspirin, I got my camera ready for an interview during a long afternoon of reciprocity, which would pound my liver and surely bring me a big headache the morning after.

As I sat in the grass, under the tree where Sergio Painemilla and a friend with whom he shared the field in *medieria* (association) were chatting enthusiastically, the glasses were filled and emptied fast as he began telling me about his life.

Born and raised in Piedra Alta, a direct descendent of the original founder of the community Pascual Segundo Painemilla, as a young child Sergio had been sent into service with a wealthy family in Santiago, where his sister was the housekeeper. Protected by the lady of the house, she had sent him to school, given him access to the house library and instilled in him a passion for reading, knowledge and education. But he also recalled painful moments when his growing-up in the city had been marked by discrimination towards his Mapuche roots and background. After leaving the house of his patrons, without finishing high school, Sergio had married a young Mapuche migrant girl in Santiago. They began a family of four as he worked in many trades and odd jobs in the city until the military dictatorship in 1973 had arrived to find him as a trade union organizer in a big Santiago industrial complex, which had been hit very hard by the repression of the new dictatorial regime. Black-listed and fearing incarceration as many of his fellow union workers, he had decided to go back to the protected isolation of his ancestral community in Piedra Alta in the Lake Budi in the Araucanía, which at the time it was an area even more isolated than it is today. Upon his return home, his father had given him a piece of land to live on with his family. Years passed, and he had practiced many trades in the agricultural field, learned much about animal husbandry, and developed the respect of his community through his leadership, sense of humor and his many talents of story-teller. His children had grown-up, including a son married to an American who according to him "had stolen his son at midnight," but to whom he had once visited in Maryland, where he had enjoyed a visit to the White House and a juicy barbecue of Buffalo steakes from the U.S. Mid-West offered in his honor by the father of his daughter-in-law.

At the point of opening the second carton of wine (this time a white one offered by Sergio) it was time for taking the sacs of wheat to the grist mill. We loaded the sacs into a squeaking-wheeled cart, pulled by two oxen and continued our conversation on board, as his younger son on foot guided the slow animals towards the mill, through a winding gravel shore road, overlooking the magnificent view of the Lake.

Q. Don Sergio, how did you become a *Kimche* in the Piedra Alta school?

A. It was many years ago, when I had just returned from Santiago, that I was asked to deliver a eulogy in a *Mafün* (funeral) of a respected and beloved member of the community. As you know Mapuche funerals are very important occasions and have a lot of discourses in them. Mapuche *Mafüns*, which sometimes becomes an event that lasts for days, becomes an historical and personal reflection for the family and the community of the deceased. I gave a really heart-felt eulogy in *Mapudungún*, delivered in a *Ngütram* format, which are dialogs from which children learn indirectly about events, of what I thought the deceased had contributed with, to his family and to our Mapuche community. When I finished, to my surprise, I could see that people were very impressed with my delivery, and my words had deeply touched them to the point where they even applauded my performance. This was something, I did not expect at all and something that is very unusual in a solemn occasion such as a funeral. Its not customary for Mapche people to applaud at a funeral, but there it was, and this event really became a turning point for me, in terms of my standing within the community. After that experience, that not even I knew I was capable of, I found I had some communication capabilities that could connect deeply with my people and that I was able to put into words what many members of the community had in their hearts and minds, but could not necessarily express very clearly. This was long before IBE was even thought about in schools, but for sometime a reputation about my knowledge of the language and of our Mapuche culture, and ancestral traditions began circulating and growing among the nine communities in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta.

As a great grandson of the *Longko* Pascual Segundo Painemilla, my lineage is also very well-known and influential in the *Lof* of Piedra Alta and beyond in the Mapuche context. For good or for ill, the Painemilla name has been associated since very early times with an important amount of *Mapuche-Lafkenche* traditions and history in the Lake Budi area and beyond. Although, it became better known since the

events taking place in the 1880s which includes the war of the *Pacificación de la Araucanía*, which are also narrated in the published work of Pascual Coña (1930) in his famous *Memoirs of a Mapuche Chief*. As a child, I got access to many Mapuche *Epews* (bedtime stories told by grandparents) transmitted by the oral tradition of my ancestors who participated in many of the events they recounted to me, and which they used to tell to us as children. I rediscovered these *Epews* and began telling them to my friends in the *Lof* (group of communities) and they began liking them for entertainment. As you know, not all *Epews* happen to be serious historical accounts, and there are many that are very funny tales, related very much to the Mapuche sense of humor and cunningness, particularly the ones associated with the participation of animal characters, such as the fox and the lion.

As time passed and I continued to participate in more community celebrations, I realized that my words and advice had meaning for many people, so by the time *Kimches* were needed to participate in schools as instructors in the IBE programs, I had already built a public image as someone who says the right things, knows the *Mapudungún* language well and has a good understanding of our ancestral *Mapuche Lafkenche* history and culture. So, I became a *Kimche* at the school of Piedra Alta by default, in a sort of natural way I was proposed by many community members for the job.

All this began with an ONG called *SODECAM,* who began the idea of the Kimches as instructors in the IBE school programs and as *Asesores Culturales* in the schools. A kind of living cultural links between the schools and the communities. For this they obtained financing from several European countries, including Belgium and Germany. I was not among the first *Kimches* who began the program here in Piedra Alta, because initially they hired other people for the job. An uncle of mine was among the first hired. But they were of an older generation, who were not experienced in teaching contemporary young people. It was difficult for them because teaching school is an art that requires some knowledge of pedagogical practices. The culture has

changed very much between Mapuche generations, so, the generational gap between older and younger generations has become very wide and it was very difficult for old-timers to deal with young people. For example, the older *Kimches* taught everything in *Mapudungún*, but today a very small percentage of young Mapuche people speaks the *Mapudungún* language. So, the few students who understood what their instructors were saying were outnumbered by the ones that got bored and confused. Several school teachers who used to visit me for a chat used to complain about this. This is how, at the point when I was offered a job as a *Kimche*, I had a good idea of how to go about it, avoiding the mistakes that had happened before to the older *Kimches*. I knew I would have to use *Mapudungún* in small amounts and I looked for some teaching strategies about how to go about my classes. I think that, in the long run, they have worked well because, up to now (8 years since I began) there have been no bad comments about my teaching and my classes, as far as I have heard.

Q. Do you agree with having IBE programs in schools? why?

A. Yes, I am in favor of IBE programs in school, but currently I think there is a great need for formalizing the IBE programs to give them the status of a real academic program, because, although today's political educational discourses about indigenous education IBE is very present and important, in real terms these programs are not recognized as part of the academic curriculum of the schools. This is one of the biggest problems that I see with current IBE programs today, because, with no official recognition, everything becomes informal, so it is very difficult to see what is to be required from the students. Moreover the work does not get enough credit for the students. Although that situation has the advantage of giving us a space to do something more creative than if it were prescribed by the Ministry of Education, I think IBE courses should be recognized and have more credit than what they get now. In the case of books and instructional support materials, things are getting better after some years because a larger numbers of books have been produced. But again, by not

being structured or connected through a curriculum, they become scattered resource materials and not basic textbooks linked with classroom instruction. I think there is a need to better organize IBE courses respecting the Mapuche traditional pedagogical practices based in oral tradition, indigenous knowledge and community practices.

Currently there are some efforts to improve IBE programs, such as the ones made by the Catholic University of Temuco, which has been preparing teachers specialized in IBE. There is a new generation of teachers being produced, including a daughter of mine who will be graduating soon. So things are getting better slowly, but there is a long way to go yet.

Q. Have the state educational agencies (national, regional or local) given the *Kimches* some kind of teacher training or staff development courses to improve their teaching performance in the IBE programs in schools?

A. Unfortunately not. No courses have been designed for *Kimches* to improve their teaching strategies or support them in the classroom activities with pedagogical advice or forms of recognized certification. Still, we have been able to do our own program development and it has been working well. We have based our courses on the calendar of celebrations of the community and I have always used an interactive and participatory approach in which the children ask questions, know what they are doing and are part of a process of constructing meaning in both languages, Spanish and *Mapudungún*. I am a person who likes to be informed. I listen to the radio, watch cultural and instructional programs in TV and also have sons, so I am aware of the interests of today's children from first to eight grades. But I as a *Kimche*, I have not received a single teacher training course from any state educational agency.

I think it is important to mention also that we need to know that the traditional roles of the *Kimche* (as a man of knowledge), *Longko* (as the political head of the community), or *Machi* (Shaman) have become different today than what they were in ancestral times. Traditionally *Longkos* and *Kimches* were tremendously knowledgeable

people, with a sense of wholeness and deeply-rooted spiritually and intellectually in the Mapuche ancestral knowledge, culture and language and were highly respected by the communities. Today things are very different and *Longkos* and *Kimches* might know a bit more than others in certain areas, but the analogy is not the same. *Kimches* of today in schools are not necessarily the sages they were in ancestral times. They know more of certain aspects of the Mapuche culture than do many other community members, but that does not make them into an equivalent of the *Kimches* of ancestral times.

Q. Do you think that the majority of the Mapuche parents of children in schools want and like IBE programs for their children? I am not talking about the Mapuche political and intellectual leadership, but of the regular Mapuche parents in the communities.
A. Unfortunately, I think that there is not much interest in IBE programs in schools coming from the average Mapuche parent in the communities. This is because many Mapuche people have not opened their senses to these possibilities. They have not realized the great importance that this has for the maintenance of our culture and language. What is happening here with this issue is analogous with that saying that "the worst kind of blind is the one who does not to want to see." I think that this happens because of our education, where we have been told that everybody is the same in Chile, but in fact, it happens that there seems to be cultural diversity also, therefore we don't happen to be all so equal as initially stated. In the case of the average Mapuche in the communities, they have begun to understand this slowly, because at the beginning there was a total rejection of the idea of IBE programs. They saw it as a form of regression, and people in the communities asked themselves "why are we going backwards to talking in *Mapudungún* when there is nothing we can do with it outside of the Mapuche communities?…so we are going back!…because what we need Spanish to advance"...that is a reflection that has a lack of maturity because learning something is expanding ones horizons in new directions and, especially in our

case, it is getting involved in the recovery of something lost. Recovering the ancestral language and traditions should be seen as learning something more than what I knew now and also as a joyful event. But it is not happening that way yet.

In the case of Piedra Alta, there has been a big advancement in the direction of supporting IBE, and many Mapuche parents among those who before were vocal and actively opposed to these programs in schools, today they abstain from opposing them by being neutral in their opinions, allowing things to take place and giving a chance to see how they work. Even the director of the parent association of the Piedra Alta school told me that, initially, IBE programs were not within his understanding and support but that after some time he recognized some value in them and acknowledged that he had made a mistake when he initially opposed them.

So there has been a change in attitudes towards IBE, and we, the *Kimches*, have been instrumental in this change. For example, I always tell the children "Son, when you arrive home, your mom or your dad is going to ask you about what have you learned in school today, and since children almost always answer "Nothing", you should tell them that a an old man with a white moustache told you that you can learn, become a professional and not forget that you are Mapuche, because you must take it in the inside with you. If you know how to speak the *Mapudungún* language, that will be even better, so you will know more about your culture which will be even more important. By the time you arrive at the university (and if you do not know anything about your culture, that will be very bad and you will remember what I said). At that point I will be very old and you will go to my house and I am not sure if I will be able to give you the assistance that you need."

I think that the parents need to learn that IBE programs are not a *retroceso* (a step-backwards), -but that children can carry their own culture for them to know who they are- and also carry the mainstream dominant culture that will enable them to be successful in the *Winka* world. The parents need to know that this is an additive

process in which knowing one culture and language does not mean that you cannot know another.

Q. Do you think that the younger generations have change much in relation with the ones before?

A. A great deal. Today, the Mapuche children know very little of their own culture, but know a lot about popular culture and events they see on TV. That is something that we as educators need to realize, because, today, the Mapuche culture and language is not necessarily the first language and culture which Mapuche children bring to school. For many of them, it is the Spanish language and culture that they learned first, even if they are Mapuche.

Q. The problems of violence or drugs that children suffer in urban environments, do they exist in Piedra Alta?

A. No, definitely not to the extent they exist in cities, but alcoholism is a problem in the Mapuche communities, which also affects a percentage of young people, starting at the age of 18 years and older. Some cases have even been seen among younger Mapuche children at the ages of 15, but is very rare. The problems of drugs, alcoholism and violence among Mapuche children in the communities is far less than in the cities. We are poor, and live at a survival level but we are still blessed with living a fairly peaceful rural way of life.

Q. Do you think that *Kimün*, the Mapuche Indigenous Knowledge is still alive?

A. I think that part of *Kimün* has been lost, but many other parts of it are still alive, especially the ones concerned with ancestral collective beliefs. For example when we do a *Nguillatún* once a year which is a thanks-giving prayer to the Gods, it is done with such a fervor and belief that many Mapuche people think that many things that happen and many future outcomes in their lives are related to this prayer and

ceremony. Their lives are defined in many ways by this. Another case of indigenous knowledge in practice is the case of the healing powers and traditional herbalist knowledge of the *Machis* (Shaman). The Machis have a special inherited *Gnewen* (force) to see and heal diseases, like nobody else, and that is a precious gift because not everybody can do it.

I think that part of the *Kimün* is very much so alive. For example, we do not plant if it's not according the cycles of the moon or of the lake. When there is a full moon people will say, "I will not plant today." Mapuche *Kimün* is totally alive in our beliefs, in our way of thinking and in our language. That is why you have been invited to a *Nguillatún* which is a thanksgiving to the gods in which we the Mapuche believe with great fervor. You have been invited, because it exists.

Q. What is the state of the Mapuche culture in Piedra Alta, because with the exception of ceremonial celebrations, the Mapucheness of it all is not that evident at first sight?
A. Well definitely, I have to say that today we are *Mapuche-Awinkados* (Mapuche with an important influence of the non-Mapuche outside world), and that is the truth and the way in which we perceive ourselves here in Piedra Alta. That is, the Mapuche culture and language is present and still alive among us, but also a large amount of assimilation to the the *Winka*-dominant occidental culture and world has taken place throughout the years. As a matter of fact now I am not speaking in my native language with you, I currently live in an occidental type of house, and dress like any other Chilean peasant who works the land and raises animals for a living. But we have got used to these changes towards occidentalization and it has brought both advantages and disadvantages. For example, this *Awinkamiento* (assimilation) can be seen very clearly here in Piedra Alta with the usage and knowledge of the *Mapudungún*, especially among the younger generations who speak very little of it. As a matter of fact, one of the first families to Chilenizarse (become Chilean Winkas) were the Painemillas. They went to school early in the time in which education for indigenous

people had a very clear purpose of converting the minds of the Mapuche, especially the sons and daughters of the *Longkos* (head of communities); they were especially targeted to go to school, to assimilate into the colonial and later the nation-state ideology. Today, the assimilation process is more widespread among many other Mapuche families, but a century ago the Painemilla were some of the first to learn the Spanish language among the Mapuche-Lafkenches in Lake Budi.

Q. How are the interracial relations between *Winkas* (Chileans) and Mapuche here in the ADI-Budi?

A. Well, I think they are good in general, especially at the level of the people where I do not see any differences. Of course, they are not so good at the level of authorities and the state and the Mapuche political leadership, which are constantly in conflict due to their different interests. The tensions and conflicts are evident, but not so at the level of the regular Mapuche people in the communities and the regular Chilean people in the towns or country side. That relationship is perfectly good. Mapuche people go to the towns and Chileans come to the Mapuche communities without a problem. At least in the ADI-Budi, interracial relations at the level of the regular people are not an issue.

Q. How do you see the future of the Mapuche culture, language and communities?

A. I think that, unfortunately, the Chilean state has no interest in finding a real solution to the problems of the Mapuche people. Neither the State nor other powers of the state have any interest in addressing and solving the Mapuche demands. We can cite as an example the case of some Mapuche leaders who have been proposing and taking action for the recovery of their lands not far from here, and are actually incarcerated for their actions. It is clear that the Mapuche culture (which is totally related with the land), will not survive without it. During the last century, the Mapuche lands were appropriated illegally by unscrupulous land speculators and by the Chilean state after the war of 1883. Today, there is no political will within the Chilean state to

solve this historical injustice. The land is even in the name of our ethnic group, we are the “People of the land” (Mapu-*land*; Che-*people*); without land, we do not exist and without it we will disappear as such. We cannot survive as a culture without land. The land is what defines our existence, our lives and who we are and now we are running out of it, because its reduces with each generation that inherits it.
The state needs to become open and make a commitment to help maintain and develop the Mapuche community. I am very optimistic because there are many Mapuche people with a very strong identity who are making important contributions and are politically involved in the recovery processes. This might change the actual way things are going. We must keep the hope.

6.3. Indigenous hybrid identities: a new intercultural dialogue

> *The current indigenous leaders in Latin America are perfectly aware of both social and cultural codes that they currently need to use; one of the dominant global neo-liberal society, embedded in a southern European Modern tradition, in which they have been educated, and the other, their renewed indigenous identity, rooted in their ancestral traditions that give meaning to their lives and strength to their demands. The current indigenous Latin American discourse is a hybrid construct that carries the reading of a reinvented indigenous culture with a great flexibility and a capacity to negotiate in strong terms, with a Modern construct of European origin.*
>
> *José Bengoa (2000)*

Ethnic identity construction as a dynamic, situational and socially-constructed process (Holland et al, 1998), - and the discursive practices and self-narratives through which it is articulated (Taylor, 1994; Vila, 2000) - generates a dialectical movement at two levels; the *internal* (individual) and the *external* (social/collective) (Padilla, 1986;

Orellana, 1996). In the socially-constructed processes of identity, where the *self* mirrors itself in the *other* (Suarez-Orozco, 2000), one element of this delimitation is how groups (or individuals) define themselves. This concept relates to Barth's (1969) definition of "ethnic boundaries" that considers ethnic identity as a construct not derived from primordial and fixed characteristics, nor from biological nor fixed cultural traits allotted *"by nature"*, but as socially constructed acts of delimitation between groups. Within this perspective, identity becomes a complex and socially negotiated and dynamic construct, which takes place between the pressures of social forces that act *within* the group, as a self-definition category (the *I* or *We)*, and the social forces that act from *without* the group, as external defining categories which are attributed from the outside (*the Them/They*) (Barth, 1969; Grebe, 1998; Holland et al., 1998). This dynamic process of identity construction also creates different forms of *Cultural Production* (Levinson, Foley & Holland, 1996), as live culture which takes place in the spaces between institutional structures and individuals or group agency, framed also within its historical, political and economic contexts (Hall & DuGay, 1998; Holland et al, 1998).

In Latin America, the ethnic identity of Native Americans has been affected by the social agent's position within family, lineage and gender, (Orellana, 1996; Laclau, 1985, Roberts, 1995), the sense of communal identity (Hirabayashi, 1986, Albó, 1986) and the pressures coming from the hegemonic nation-state project (Díaz-Polanco, 1991; Stavenhagen, 1988; Bonfil-Batalla, 1989). In the last two decades, the so-called *"Indigenous Emergence in Latin America"* has come to reinvigorate the indigenous identity as a negotiated construct that in the search to keep its ancestral Native American traditions, is also able to master the dominant Eurocentric discourse in which it is embedded (Bengoa, 2000; Stavenhagen, 1997). The current indigenous social movements in Latin America, coming out of these new emerging indigenous identities, is contextualized in an historical moment of neoliberal globalization which has replaced the Cold War and the nationalistic hegemonic projects produced from the

1940s to the 1970s by the military dictatorships in power. Opposed to this dynamic, we find, today, that the current neo-liberal globalization process has began to blur the economic and cultural borderlines of the nation-state and its hegemonic policies created at the point of the formation of the new republics in the XVIII Century (Bengoa, 2000).

Out of this new dynamic, in which the nation-state is being surpassed by a global context where the flow of capital and goods moves beyond the traditional territorial borders of countries, the creation of new cultural spaces is also taking place. It is within this context where the current *Indigenous Emergence* is creating an important intercultural dialogue which is not only redefining state public policies towards indigenous people in many countries of the Americas, but also restructuring the current Native American identities as more complex, negotiated and hybrid constructs (García-Canclini, 1995; Bengoa, 2000; Stavenhagen, 1997). This new intercultural dialogue and new indigenous presence in the Latin American political landscape has began to produce important changes in the legislations, policies and practices of many countries to accommodate Native Americans' current demands for citizens, cultural and linguistic rights (Hernández, 2003; Aylwin, 2002; Stavenhagen, 1997). Above all, to answer the indigenous qualitatively different new demands for their recognition as nations with important levels of territorial and political autonomy, within the nation-states in which they exist.

This process of change has had an important impact among the 40 million indigenous people on the continent (Stavenhagen, 1997; Bengoa, 2000) and the case of the Mapuche people of Chile is no exception to this rule. The Chilean Mapuche intellectual and political elites have proposed since the *Reunión de Nueva Imperial* in 1989, the official recognition by the Chilean state of a Mapuche Nation with a clearly defined political and territorial space (Foerster, 1998; Marimán, 1999).

6.3.a Mapuche identity, knowledge and schooling in Piedra Alta

> *As a form of Cultural production, pedagogy is deeply implicated in the construction of knowledge and subjectivities, such as identity.*
>
> Giroux, 1996

Identity construction, as a dynamic process, taking place between the internal (*self)* and the external forces (*others)* makes an interesting analogy to the Vigotzkean and Freirean constructivist principles of knowledge and meaning construction (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Brizuela, & Soler-Gallart, 1998). Both concepts; identity and knowledge production appear to have similar characteristics in terms of being socially negotiated constructs which have mediating instances that take place between the *(Self)* and its social environment *(Other).* Both constructs appear to have very similar social dynamics of construction, based on Bakhtinian dialogic relationship and the dialectical discursive practices which take place between social agents, and in both inner and outside forces, produce co-constructed, negotiated meanings. In this context, identity construction appears to follow very similar rules of the construction processes through which knowledge is produced. In many ways it seems to me that identity construction processes become forms of knowledge construction of the self.

In the case of observing the processes of identity construction among Mapuche students in the IBE program of the Piedra Alta school in Chile, the post-structural (Post-Modern) view of identity as an hybrid, fragmented, socially-negotiated and in the making construct, is clear to see. It also becomes very important to have in mind that rural Mapuche youngsters while strongly anchored to the ancestral cultural traditions of their indigenous families and communities, also have strong cultural alliances to the mainstream Chilean culture and language, which is transmitted to them in schools and through the media. They also have strong influences from the expanding neo-liberal and globalizing culture, found in the audio-visual and digital

media to which they have access. These three elements of identity, the Mapuche ancestral culture, the Chilean mainstream culture and the current Neo-liberal globalizing culture, are the three main important fragments and components in the current Mapuche youth identity construction processes, which positions their identity in intermediate spaces loaded with high degrees of hybridity between the forces of assimilation, resistance and negotiated intermediate meanings (García-Canclini, 1995; Hall et al., 1996; Bengoa, 2000; Marimán et al., 1997).

The post-structural (post-modern) concept of identity as a fragmented and positional construct, which includes the cultural tension between the global and the local and its shifting dynamic of multiple and situational alliances, becomes a very important concept to have in mind when observing and interpreting the current identity construction processes of the Mapuche youngsters in IBE program of the Piedra Alta school in Chile today.

Another important point to mention in relation to the processes of identity construction that I saw among Mapuche students in the Piedra Alta school, was that as the school was located in an indigenous community (reservation) with 90% of Mapuche and a school with 98% Mapuche student population, the levels of stigmatization and the devaluation of the Mapuche identity as a construct were none coming directly from outsiders to the group. Self-criticism existing among some Mapuche members about Mapuche culture itself, although exists among certain groups in the communities, it was nothing evident and there was none of the confrontational dynamics and stigmatization that Mapuche children live in urban spaces where they are overwhelmingly out-numbered by the mainstream populations, and in which the pressure to distance themselves from all that is Mapuche as a stigmatized culture, becomes very strong. So, the dynamics of shifting identities from one construct to the other, from the Indigenous to the Chilean *(Winka)* and to the Global, was a very fluid and natural process for the students in Piedra Alta and it had very little tension and pain involved in it. This is a situation which does not happen in highly

compartmentalized and stigmatizing environments. So, if an opposition towards the ancestral Mapuche identity ever emerged coming from Mapuche families with high degrees of assimilation or high degrees of affiliation to the Evangelical Church, it was never as intense as it becomes in urban environments, where the mainstream Eurocentric culture devalues Mapuche identity as the product of the stereotyped inferior "other" and where there is very little subtlety and restraint in showing contempt towards the indigenous world. In this sense, the hybrid identity construction processes of Mapuche students in the Piedra Alta school and the shifting dynamics of negotiated cultural and linguistic alliances in which they engaged, were done in a fairly harmonious way. It was clear to me, that I was observing a group of children who knew and were proud about their Mapuche roots, but also liked the idea of being part of the mainstream Chilean culture and being connected with the future opportunities that a mainstream, digital and global world might have for them.

6.3.b. Between a Mapuche, Chilean and a Global world: Mapuche youths' hybrid identity construction at school

> *I think that the point in time will arrive when there will be only one Mapuche person, who is totally Mapuche by both parents and will be left on the face of the earth. We do not know yet what will it be, a man or a woman, but clearly there will be only one Mapuche person left in the world. The rest will all be a combination between Mapuche and Winkas. This is already happening today, because many Mapuche people are already very mixed with Winkas. The IBE program is very important to have because it gives us the knowledge about our ancestors so we can tell it to our children and the coming younger Mapuche generations. It helps us to become more Mapuche and to be more proud of our indigenous selves and of what our ancestors did.*
>
> *Joba Adriana Gorchiwal, 8th grader*

The current cultural context of the Mapuche youth in the Piedra Alta school, although located in a rural indigenous setting which defines its existence, is also placed within the new ideological patterns of interaction between the Latin American nation-states and their indigenous peoples – new patterns created as a consequence of the socio-political movements of the *Indigenous Emergence* and the neo-liberal economic Globalization processes – which are erasing the traditional nation-state borders. In this sense, the current indigenous cultural environment in Chile is on a slow but sure path towards multiculturalism and multilingualism, and its dynamic has become more related to a Post-Modern fragmented construct, than to the Mono-cultural Unitarian concepts of the positive and fixed identity patterns of Modernity. In this context, it seems to me that the processes of identity construction of the Mapuche students whom I observed in the IBE program of the Piedra Alta school, in many ways is part of this "new emergent indigenous identity" rooted in three cultural traditions that actually give meaning to their lives; their Mapuche ancestral heritage present in their homes and communities, the Chilean post-colonial dominant mainstream culture to which they have been assimilated in many ways as part of the nation-state project present in their schooling experience, and the Global culture of the Neo-liberal world market, arriving with full force to their lives, through diverse forms of audio-visual and digital media. In this sense, what Schuurman (2001) calls *"The mother of all social dichotomies: Tradition versus Modernity"* which defined in a rigid and oppositional way both Indigenous and Modern identities for centuries, has began to disappear as new forms of hybrid identity constructs converge towards more negotiated and intermediate points, which Bhabha (1994) would refer as the "third negotiated cultural space".

So for the current Mapuche youngsters, both ideological constructs – the "Traditional Indigenous Heritage" as opposed to its nemesis the "Unitarian concept of Modernity" – have become very different concepts than the ones seen by their ancestors, because these ideological constructs (originally defined in total opposition)

have shifted to more intermediate, fluid and negotiated middle grounds and points of encounter in a stage in which Native American who have been for generations under the pressure to assimilation under the rigid Unitarian concept of Modernity, have found a wider space in the more eclectic constructs of Post-Modernity. It is at the point of hybridity, between their Mapuche persona anchored in their ancestral indigenous traditions, their Chilean persona anchored in the nationalistic values of the nation-state embodied in the schooling system and their Global persona coming through the media and the digital format, where we should look for today's identity construction processes of the Mapuche students in this rural school of the indigenous community of Piedra Alta in the south of Chile.

6.3.c. The making of the Mapuche and the Chilean persona in a context of Globalization

For a better understanding of the hybrid and negotiated identity construction processes of the Mapuche youngsters in the Piedra Alta school, we should look with more attention into the main factors from which they draw their identity; which are the Mapuche, the Chilean and the Global persona.

The Mapuche Persona: The deepest dimension of Mapuche identity is given by the recognition of the concept of ***Küpal*** which comes in the way of physical, psychological or emotional characteristics inherited at birth by each Mapuche as a member of a network of relatives belonging to the same lineage and line of descent (Course, 2005; Calfio et al., 1996; Donato, 2000). This concept, which can also have different meanings in different contexts is seen in direct relation with the *"Mili Folil"* (Four Roots). Which is a metaphorical allusion to one's four grandparents (father's father (*Laku*), father's mother (*Kuku*), mother's mother (*Cheche*) mother's father (*Chedki*). This forms the deepest personal identity of a child and is considered to be at

the root of each Mapuche as an individual. Associated with *Küpal* is also the concept of *Tuwün*, which is related with the geographical space in which extended families and lineages live. So, the first two referents of Mapuche identity are the the belonging to a certain lineage inherited through *Küpal* and the geographical referent of that a lineage has coming through *Tuwün* as a geographical area in which they live (Bengoa, 1995). It is through the links to the ancestors through *Küpal* and the link to the land through *Tuwün* which the deepest sense of the Mapuche personhood is constructed (Painemilla, 2003).

In addition to having an effect on the person's behavioral and physical characteristics, *Küpal* also refers to explaining the capacity to take on and fulfill particular roles within Mapuche society, including positions of leadership, e.g., the *Longko, Ngenpin, Machi* or other leading traditional roles. *Küpal* enables both; the inheritance of right to a role and the inheritance of the capacity to fulfill that role (Course, 2005). The concept of *Küpal* is also related with the transmission of spiritual powers, seen as a spiritual potency or force *(Gnewen)* which is transmitted by *Küpal* and which defines the personal relationship and connection with one or more supernatural entities *(Püllü)* that a person might have with a spirit. For example, in the case of the *Machis* (Shamans), the role is inherited through *Küpal*, although the call to perform this role is manifested through a dream in which a *Püllü* might have a role. The concept of *Küpal* is central to Mapuche personhood and is related to fixed personal identity traits and rights which are established at the moment of birth. Individual agency can conform to it, ignore or overcome whatever *Küpal* the person has inherited from his or her ancestors, but it cannot change it. *Küpal* is an essential component of Mapuche's individual identity, as it self-identifies them in many ways and becomes an important factor in people's social interactions. *Küpal* not only has an impact on how Mapuche people construct themselves but on how they are constructed by others.

Being Mapuche is essentially defined as being the child of both Mapuche parents which, according to my informants, transmits the *Küpal* in full force to their offsprings, including physical appearance, psychological and spiritual traits. For many, Mapucheness is not made but inherited and *Küpal* plays a big role in this. People of one Mapuche parent are called *Champurria* or *Champurriado* which, according to many community members, this will have an impact on their Mapuche identity by the incorporation of many negative traits coming from the Non-Mapuche *Winkas* (Calfío y Jimenéz, 1996). The frequent problems of violence in the neighboring communities of Deume near Piedra Alta, were frequently attributed to the large amount of *Champurria* that lived there.

Another important identity markers, at the most basic level among the Mapuche are the two different mutually exclusive identities of *Mapuche* and *Winka* (Non-Mapuche). These two identities are defined in oppositional terms to each other, being a *Winka,* the "Other," the totally contrary of a Mapuche person.

Mapuche people tend to describe themselves as honest, hardworking and poor and describe *Winkas* as dishonest, lazy and rich. This highly essentialist definition of Mapuche identity (in contrast to the *Winka* as a mainstream outsider persona), co-exists with a definition regarding the degrees of assimilation or resistance that individuals, families or communities have in terms of their ways of lives and beliefs. This places different Mapuche individuals, families and communities along a continuum between the definitions of *Awinkado* (assimilated and leaning to the *Winka* side) or *Amapuchado* (resistant and leaning to the Mapuche side). In Piedra Alta, when confronted with the question of why so many young people do not speak the *Mapudungún* language and were not keen on practicing ancestral traditions, the most frequent answer was that the younger generations were already *Awinkados. When* asked why in the ADI-Budi there were more ancestral celebrations that in other areas, the most common answer was that the people from the ADI-Budi, were more *Amapuchados* than in other places.

Finally, another important marker of identity of the communities in the Piedra Alta *Lof* is that of being *Mapuche-Lafkenches*. This is a category linked with the above mentioned concept of *Tuwün* as part of the identity associated with the ancestral geographical territories in which a Mapuche group is located. In the case of the *Lafkenches*, their *Tuwün* universe is the *Lafken-Mapu*, the lands of the West, near the Ocean and the Lakes *(Lafken/as big bodies of water and Mapu/land)*. The geographical and territorial identity of *Mapuche-Lafkenche*, translated has *"People of the Land and the Water"*. Currently this geographical form of identity has also been translated into a regional cultural and political movement, with distinct demands and forms of organization. The declaration of *"Identidad Mapuche Lafkenche: De la Deuda Histórica Nacional al reconocimiento de nuestros derechos territorriales"* signed by the leadership of the *Mapuche-Lafkenche* in Tirúa in 1999, is an important historical and political document defining the stand of this regional group, and also of the current Mapuche movement in Chile. Considering that very few families of the communities of Piedra Alta are involved in fishing or other economic activities directly related with the ocean or the lake, I did not sense that the *Lafkenche* identity had an important presence in their definitions of self. But it is there, and the term *Lafkenche* was used more in relation with the communities located directly adjacent to the sea, and which make more frequent use of the Pacific Ocean's natural resources. Nevertheless, the people from the ADI-Budi, even the ones that do not live in direct contact with the ocean or the lake, identify themselves in very clear ways as *Mapuche-Lafkenches*.

The Chilean Persona: I have already mentioned in this work the opinion of many indigenous and non-indigenous scholars and Mapuche educators on how historically the Eurocentric public schooling and its colonial, evangelizing and assimilationist projects, have had a tremendously negative impact among indigenous people in terms of the maintenance of their traditional knowledge, culture and language (Freire, 1973; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Marimán, 1997). But on the other

hand, the historical process of Chilenization to which the Mapuche people and youth have been subject through schooling through generations, today has produced Mapuche youth who also consider themselves as Chileans and native speakers of Spanish, in more important ways than one. This process has produced a group of Mapuche youth who with no doubts have the Chilean persona as an important part of their identity, as part of who they consider themselves to be and which defines and represents themselves to others. To deny the important component of the Chileaness of the Mapuche youth of today would be a big mistake.

Among the sample of nine students in 8th grade between ages of 13 and 16 that I interviewed in-depth in the Piedra Alta school, all of them considered themselves to be culturally at least half or more Chilean. Although, eight of the nine defined themselves as having a totally Mapuche *Küpal* (ascendency from father and mother) and being totally Mapuche in terms of their ancestral lineages, and also having the same *Tuwün*, coming from their Mapuche-Lafkenche geographical location of their families. In linguistic terms, only one said to have a good command of the *Mapudungún* language, and none of them showed any surprise nor resistance to the idea of being the Spanish language the dominant language mostly used by them in their daily interactions and the language that 7 out of 9 considered to be their first language.

The mainstream Chilean identity defined historically a national persona based in the images and behaviors of the rural Chilean campesino *"Huaso"* , the state apparatus defining the Republican symbols of the nation, through the exaltation of the flag, the national anthem or other populist paraphernalia has lost important part of its ideological base, as the current Chilean identity has shifted towards an urban internationalized and globalized merchandise consumer's persona, where supranational commercial entities in North America and Europe are defining many rules that surpass the control of the nation-state (Larraín, 2002). According to this author, clearly symptomatic signs of this can be seen in the popular cultural production, such as, the

Chilean music which is heard everyday less, even during National holiday celebrations. North American-inspired groups of Rock, Rap and Punk (including Mapuche groups) are emerging with great force among the young, creating an hybrid musical trend that not only imitates the sounds, languages and body movements of youth from Europe or the United States, but also establishes patterns of behavior, values and ways of life, totally opposed to the traditionally mainstream Chilean identity based in the Spanish language and the Catholic religion. Some national symbols, such as the usage of the flag, have been losing strenght to the point in which, although mandatory in certain national holidays, very few flags are to be seen in the houses during the national Independence Day celebration. The eating habits and the constant bombardment of fast food, such as pizzas or American-style hamburgers, and French, Italian and Asiatic restaurants have moved aside the traditional Chilean dishes and have changed drastically the eating habits of the population (Larraín, 2002). Many professional activities and businesses have changed their names into English. Entertainment of the population has also changed dramatically. All which is to say that it seems to this author (Larrain, 2002), that Chile is a country in which everything is for sale. Moreover, this author argues that the national identity that was created at the point of Independence in the XVIII century was also a construct of European origin, which encountered a good amount of resistance in its time too. So, the current changing nature of identity and appropriation of symbols and values towards the culture of the Global Market, has also become a complex construct which is appropriated and resisted by many.

The Chilean national identity has been imposed over the Mapuche people since the end of the war of the *"Pacificación de la Araucanía"* and the re-location of the Mapuche into the reservation system, in 1883. In the case of the Mapuche youth, the school historically has been the place for assimilation into the national project, and evangelization by the Church. The current shift of identity taking place in the mainstream Chilean culture, from the national to global, is also having a great impact

on the current Mapuche, including its youth. I clearly observed during my fieldwork that a hybrid identity composed of the Mapuche traditional culture, the Chilean Mainstream culture and the current Global consumer, is what is influencing and defining who Mapuche youth consider themselves to be and how they are seen from the outside.

The schooling of indigenous people in Chile ultimately remains as a site of the reproduction of the dominant social structures and values of the nationalistic project of the Chilen nation-state and its construct of national identity. The discourse of nationhood and collective culture within a state remains potent for youth because of its narrative power, as argued by Bhabha (1994) nationalism provides the reassuring stories of cohesion, stability and hierarchy, and Mapuche children in the school of Piedra Alta are not an exception to this rule.

The Global persona: To talk about Globalization influencing a remote Mapuche community in the south of Chile, still living under traditional forms of subsistence agriculture, is not talk about the acceleration of the flow of capital, people, goods, images and ideologies that have arrived into that context as part of a shrinking world of consumption in post-Fordist economic production, based on highly interconnected and mobile capital (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). Still, the intense migration of Mapuche people to the main Chilean cities and their eventual return to their rural communities, plus audio-visual media, wireless communications and digital computer technologies, have put the habitants of the once distant and isolated Mapuche communities of Piedra Alta (especially the school children) in direct contact with global and the metropolitan centers, their culture, ideologies and languages.

So, to talk about Mapuche students' identity construction processes today, at a rural school such as Piedra Alta in Lake Budi, without mentioning the variable of the Global within their frame of mind, is to leave an important component of their identities out of the picture. The situation which for their grandparents altogether was

non-existent, but for them, the revolution in communications and technologies of information has made the rest of the world an important presence in their lives.

The Piedra Alta school, located in the route that connectsto the main town of Puerto Saavedra, is the only place in the community where non-Mapuche people live, which also happens to be the largest building in the area and the only place where there is a public telephone and an internet access to be found in a computer lab. In many ways the school represents for the communities in that indigenous place, the point in which their ancestral indigenous world meets the national and the global worlds. So, in a certain way the school has, by default, an important status within the community, as the place where the multicultural and the multilingual interactions take place and where contact with the non-Mapuche outside world happens.

In the case of the Mapuche youth of Piedra Alta in the ADI-Budi, the shifting changes from a national culture towards a globalized, neo-liberal consumer which mainstream youngsters live in Chile, is also lived by the Mapuche youth in rural areas of the country. Through the media and digital communications, their sense of the Mapuche ancestral persona and the Chilean national, is also shifting towards the persona of a consumer in the global market. One of my experiences of direct contact with the Global in the Mapuche context, that I vividly recall from my field work among the Mapuche, was watching the science fiction movies "Matrix" and "Terminator" in a DVD format, in the living room of the house of a Mapuche family in the remote rural location of Conoco-Budi, before having seen these films in the US. This demonstrated very clearly to me, how Mapuche youth in Piedra Alta are in contact with the global through the media, the digital and the wireless technologies, the music, the clothing and through adopting ways of behaviors of the ideal imagined ways of life that they see through the media which instantly connects them with imaginary or real, defining events in far away places of the world.

6.3.d. Hybrid identities: a conversation with 9 Mapuche students

Five male students in 8th grade
(Ages from 13 to 14 years old)

Q. Do you identify yourself has being a Mapuche and how do you feel about this?
A. Yes (unanimous and clear). We are Mapuche and we feel happy about it because we have a different race than others and we live in the country.

Q. Were you all born and raise here in Piedra Alta?
A. Yes, we are all from here.

Q. Do you all speak *Mapudungún*?
A. A bit, we really do not know much how to speak it, but we do understand it (5 students). We are interested in it and we like it (4 students), but it is quite difficult (1 student).

Q. Do you speak *Mapudungún* at home and what language do you use predominantly?
A. We speak some *Mapudungún* at home, but, in general, we speak more Spanish everywhere, including with other Mapuche friends.

Q. From whom did you learn the most about the Mapuche culture and the *Mapudungún* language?
A. From my parents and grand-parents (5). More with my parents (3 students) and more with my grandparents (2 students).

Q. I noticed the other day, during an ancestral community ceremony, that some young people your age seem quite bored with the situation and were even disruptive of it. Why do you think that happened?
A. Well, for me, I think that sometimes all those rituals are a bit boring (1 student). We are interested in the Mapuche traditions but sometimes they are boring for us (4 students). We still like them, but sometimes not that much (5 students).

Q. You have the double identity of being Mapuche and Chileans at the same time; which of these two identities is stronger in you?
A. Well we are Mapuche, but we also like the idea of being Chileans. As a matter of fact, we consider Spanish to be our first language (5 students). We learned how to speak Spanish before *Mapudungún*, which is very different situation than our grand parents who learned *Mapudungún* first and Spanish later (5 students).

Q. If you had to define what percentage of Mapuche identity and what percentage of non-Mapuche *(Winka)* identity you have, how would you say that is in your case?
A. I think it is half and half (4 students). In my case, I think that the non-Mapuche is predominant (1 student).

Q. In the case of the IBE programs, do you think that they are important?
A. Yes, to learn how to do crafts (1 student). We like IBE classes to understand more about our ancestral history and culture and to know how the old Mapuche people lived (4 students).

Q. Do you think that the IBE programs in the Piedra Alta school should change in someway?

A. Yes, it would be interesting to go on more field trips rather than staying in the classroom and just talking about the things that are in the community (5). We would like to do more practice in the field than classroom work.

Q. Do you think that *Mapudungún* should be taught as an assignment in school with a schedule like other courses or would you rather learn other languages such as English or French at school?
A. I would rather learn another language at school, such as French. We can learn *Mapudungún* at home or in the community (5 students).

Q. Why?
A. Well, if we go to another country, we would know how to speak that language (4 students). Besides *Mapudungún* is too difficult (1student). In practical terms it does not have much usage outside of the community (4 students).

Q. So how would you learn the *Mapudungún?*
A. In our homes and in the community, but not in school (5 students).

Q. In what way has the IBE program served you? As it made you feel good that your culture and language is being valued by being taught in school?
A. Yes, I think it is good and important (4), no answer (1).

Q. Lets talk about migration: When you finish school here you will go to a school in a city? You like the idea and where are you going?
A. Yes, we like it (5 students). I will go to the high school in Puerto Saavedra (2), to Temuco (1 student), and to Imperial (2 students).

Q. After that, once you have finished secondary school, what are you plans?

A. I intend to go to the university (1 student), I want to join the Navy (2 students), to work in the city (1 student). No answer (1 student).

Q. Do you plan on returning to the community?
A. We intend to return to the community (5 students), but it depends on the work (3 students). Defenitely to visit several times a year, but permanently it is not clear (5 students). I think I will work sometime in the city and then return to live here (3 students). I am not sure if I will return anytime soon to live in the community, maybe to visit, but to live, that is not clear yet (2 students).

Q. Why not return to the community immediately once you have finished high school?
A. There is not a good future here in the community, because there is not work except for the hard agricultural work, and that does not pay much (5 students). We need to go out of the community to find a future for ourselves, because the possibilities of work here in the ADI Budi are very difficult (5 students).

Q. In terms of the Man-Women relations within the Mapuche community, do you think that there is *Machismo* among the Mapuche?
A. No (4 students). Yes (1 student), the man really calls the shots in the Mapuche culture.

Q. What do you think about the education that you are receiving here in the Piedra Alta school, and what would you do differently?
A. We think that the school is not bad, but there should be more sports facilities, and sports classes and technology in the school. Math has not high level requirements; we are always working on very basic stuff, such as multiplication and other basic operations (5 students).

Q. Do you participate in a lot of community activities?

A. Yes, there is a lot of that here in Piedra Alta (5 students).

Q. How do you see the relationships between *Winkas* and Mapuches?

A. They are OK, but here in Piedra Alta everybody is Mapuche, so it is hard to say. When we go to the city, things are different, but, here things are good (5 students).

Q. Do you think that Mapuches are discriminated against by non-Mapuche?

A. Yes (5 students), because of our clothing (1 student), because of the poverty (1 student), because they think we lack intelligence (1 student).

Q. Do you think the Mapuche discriminate against the non-Mapuche?

A. No (3 students). Yes, I think it is something that goes both ways, although it is stronger among the older generations (2 students).

Q. What do you think about the future of the Mapuche people?

A. I think it will disappeared (4 students), because the older ones have almost disappeared and, today, we do not live our everyday lives as Mapuche. Our daily lives are more that of people living in the country-side as peasants than that of indigenous people (5 students).

Q. What do you think about your role as young Mapuche to preserve the culture and language and not let them disappear?

A. We want to continue with the Mapuche traditions, yes, but it is difficult because we do not have the experience and knowledge of the culture that the old Mapuche have (4 students).

Q. How do you see your personal futures in the coming years?

A. I think we have more possibilities now than the Mapuche had before (5 students). I want to become a teacher (1 students). We do not know yet because we have to finish school first (4 students).

Four females students in 8th grade

(Ages 13 to 16 years old)

Q. Do you identify yourselves as a young, Mapuche person living in the ADI Budi, and what does that mean to you?

A. Yes, we are Mapuche (4 students). It is very important for us (1 student), because, even if other people do not consider us because of that, we value each other among ourselves, and with our parents at home. I say that I am Mapuche and I will never deny it (1 student).

Q. Do you speak and understand the *Mapudungún*?

A. Just a bit (3 students). I speak it and write it well (1 student), because it is present in my home a lot, my father is a *Kimche*.

Q. From whom have you learned the Mapuche traditions and language?

A. From my parents (3 students), with my grandparents (1 student).

Q. What percentage of the day do you speak *Mapudungún*?

A. Something like a 30% (4 students).

Q. How much *Mapudungún* is used when communicating among your friends and classmates?

A. It is combined, because we use some words in *Mapudungún*, but more in Spanish.

Q. I have noticed that some young people get a bit bored with the Mapuche traditional celebrations. How is it in your case?
A. I like them (1 student) and I think that, for the young people who don't, it is because they do not know what the ceremonies are all about, nor they understand the *Mapudungún* language in which the ceremonies take place. Sometimes even for me they becomes quite boring (3 students) because there is so much speaking and especially in *Mapudungún* that in the long run one does not understand much what they are saying.

Q. What do you think about the IBE programs here in the school? Do you like them?
A. Yes (3 students), because we learn more things about our culture and of ancient things about which it that we did not know. It is important to have that knowledge to tell it to our sons or to the coming younger generations (1 student).

Q. In terms of identity, things are mixed nowadays. Could you define what percentage of yourself you consider to be Mapuche and what percentage you consider to be Winka?
A. I think 50 % of each (4 students).

Q. In terms of migration, what do you think about this and to which city will you go next year when you graduate from here?
A. To Puerto Saavedra (4 students).

Q. What plans do you have after high school graduation? Do you intend to return to live to the community here in Piedra Alta?
A. I intend to go to the university (1 student). I am not clear yet (3 students). I will return to the community to visit for a short period, but not to live because there are not

many possibilities for work in anything which is not in agriculture (3 students). In Mapuche communities young people are forced to go out of the community to look for better possibilities in life (3 students).

Q. Do you think that there is discrimination against the Mapuche people in the mainstream Chilean *(Winka)* society?
A. Yes (4 students), because they do nor really know us and invent things without telling the truth about the Mapuche people (1 student)

Q. Do you think that there is discrimination against the Winka by the Mapuche?
A. Yes, it goes both ways (4 students)

Q. What do you think is going to happen with the Mapuche culture in the future?
A. The time will come when the Mapuche are totally mixed with the *Winka* people (4). In my case, I am already mixed because my father is non-Mapuche but my mother is Mapuche (1 student).

Q. As young Mapuche, what is your role in maintaining the Mapuche culture?
A It will be important for us to transmit our Mapuche traditions to our future sons and daughters (3 students). For me, it is not that important (1 student).

Q. How do you envision yourself in the future, let's say 20 years from now? Might you be married with a *Winka*?
A. I wouldn't mind but I would rather have a Mapuche husband (3 students). I will be living with a house in the city and will also have another house in the community (3 students). We do not know yet what th future brings (1 student).

Chapter 7: Conclusions

In this work, I tried to make sense of ethnographic encounters related with the schooling of Mapuche children in an IBE program in a Mapuche-Lafkenche community in southern Chile. I placed them within theoretical frameworks in which historical analysis became part of an interpretative task. In the search of constructing meaning of education as a culturally situated social, historical and political practice (Freire, 1985).

From the first arrival of Spaniards to Mapuche territory, in 1553, through the settlement of the Mapuche on reservations in 1883, after a war of conquest, this indigenous people has been subordinated by military, religious and cultural domination through the army, the church, the state and the school. First, during the Spanish colonial system and, later, through the Chilean nation-state intervention, this produced profound changes in their traditional forms of life. Today, some Chilean scholars, such as Saavedra (2002), argue that important parts of the traditional Mapuche cultural heritage and language as already been lost.

The mid XX century, and the economic hardship of the post-reservational period (Bengoa, 2000), has not made things easier for the Mapuche, whose situation of economic hardships have been intensified by the small amount of land left in the rural Mapuche communities. This eventually has lead to a migration process with a diasporic dimension, which has already displaced 80% of the Mapuche people who have migrated to the main five urban centers in Chile, in search of better economic opportunities.

The return of democracy in the early 1990s, after a dictatorship of 17 years, tried to erase the concept of Chile as a multicultural society; it brought new hopes for the recovery of the cultural and linguistic rights of the Mapuche people, especially through the establishment of IBE programs, as part of a re-ethnification process

proposed by the Mapuche leadership. Increasingly, the Mapuche people are putting into practice their rights to exercise decision-making power over the schools in their communities by having a more clear voice and participating in the educational process of their children. However, both traditional educational agents; the State and the Church, still remain in charge of this process. Nevertheless, as a part of the global indigenous movement, the Mapuche intellectual leadership is lobbying for an increase control over the schools in the communities and for establishment of IBE programs which respect their cultural and linguistic traditions and identity at the same time that they provide a better quality education for their children.

In the last decade, things have not developed in a way that have been satisfactory to the Mapuche indigenous leadership and of many communities, situation which has lead to an increase in tensions and conflicts between the Chilean state and some Mapuche radicalized groups. Also, the concept of IBE programs in schools has remained as a point of conflict within many Mapuche communities themselves, in which many non-elite Mapuche, at the grassroots level, continue to see the schooling process as a mechanism for enabling social mobility by acquiring the dominant Spanish language and the mainstream Chilean discourse and not as a place to become more Mapuche. These sectors continue to oppose IBE in schools, demining it a form of regression towards past "uncivilized times".

The Mapuche culture and language, however are still alive in the Araucanía and in the community of Piedra Alta in the area of the Lake Budi, where there are clear signs of the presence and impact that Mapuche indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* has on the daily lives in this Mapuche-Lafkenche indigenous place. In this indigenous area, *Kimün* remains directly related to the ways in which Mapuche people organize, give sense and interpret their world at the same time, it defines who they are and which the set of beliefs and knowledge that makes them into a very distinctive indigenous group.

The goal of this research was to observe how the Mapuche indigenous knowledge (*Kimün),* which historically has been excluded from the school and kept

only has part of the community's informal educational process, is being incorporated into the formal schooling and into the IBE classroom practices conducted by Mapuche *Kimches* (traditional community teachers) who have become teachers in the school's IBE program. Also, how this instruction has had an impact on the students' indigenous identity construction processes.

The findings of this study reveal that the incorporation of *Kimün* into the classroom as a source of previous knowledge (Moll et al, 1998) phrased has an oral counter-narratives to the official knowledge of the school (Giroux & McLaren, 1996), has had a very positive impact on the processes of creating culturally relevant learning environments in the IBE classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and in enabling more fluid ethnic identity construction processes of the Mapuche students in the school, who become empowered by this recognition and validation of their indigenous background which is a fundamental part of their identity as a process of self-construction (Holland et al., 1998). This study shows that Mapuche *Kimün* centered in the study of the cultural and religious traditional ceremonies of the community, being brought into the classroom by *Kimches* as instructors, becomes a form of validation and reaffirmation of the Mapucheness of the students and of their ancestral traditional practices and language learned at home and community. It becames a socio-cultural space which enables Mapuche students to reflect and (re)create a critical consciousness of their indigenous backgrounds and experience and allows them to construct a more hybrid, fluid and less conflictive identity as youngsters living in a Mapuche, Chilean and a global world (Holland et al., 1998). This research indicated to me that giving recognition to Mapuche indigenous knowledge (*Kimün*), as a legitimate philosophical, political, religious and scientific interpretation of the world, giving it a place among other respected disciplines in the school dialogue, is of great importance for the self-esteem of Mapuche children, who as indigenous youngsters, see the validation of their ancestral backgrounds as something that is respecting and giving consideration to a fundamental part of who they are.

The main recommendations that I see coming out of this research, go for both; the public educational policies coming out of the State and other educational agencies involved in indigenous education and for the Mapuche communities themselves directly involved in the education of their children. In the case of the State, there is an urgent need to give to IBE programs in the Mapuche context a more serious consideration and a more recognized status as important subject matters, which addresses important cultural and linguistic issues of a traditional culture and people in need of cultural and linguistic survival. The state needs to recognize that IBE programs in schools should go beyond being alternative cultural awareness workshops held as non-graded school activities, to become serious curriculum based courses, organized systematically and which count in the academic load of the students that take them. *Kimches* as main teachers in these courses, and as important links between the indigenous communities and the schools, should receive support to improve their pedagogical skills and practices in the classroom and in the community when working with school children.

On the other hand, the Mapuche intellectual and political elites should begin addressing in a more systematic way the big concerns and doubts that the grassroots of many Mapuche communities have in relation with the value of IBE programs. It is clear that if the Mapuche communities themselves are not in agreement or have serious concerns about the value that IBE programs have in their children schooling, then no one else will. The examples of many IBE programs (including the Maories in New Zeland) have clearly shown that these programs only become successful when they have a clear support of the communities for which they are intended (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Citarrela, 1990; López, 1995). There is also a need to give more autonomy to educational matters and demands on behalf of the Mapuche leadership, who in many ways has subordinated the results in the field of education to other more difficult points to resolve in the political Mapuche agenda, such as, issues of land recovery and political autonomy, which will not come easy.

A change in these two directions could clearly give a better possibility for IBE programs to develop faster than they are doing now. To eventually succed and to become sustainable educational programs that lead to the revitalization and recovery of a culture and a language which are under a serious threat of extinction (Saavedra, 2002) and under a great need for preservation.

The direction in which IBE programs in the Mapuche context in Chile are going today, although better that ever before, have a very long way to go before they can claim to be successful. The old saying that a “one thousand mile journey begins with the first step”, is not a distant analogy for me, when I think about what I observed about IBE programs in the Mapuche context in Chile.

Appendix 1: Methodology

About the Mapuche sociopolitical context and ethnographic work

A very important point to mention, when talking about current ethnographic work in the Mapuche context of Chile, is that historically, this indigenous group has had very high levels of resistance and opposition to outsiders *(Winkas)*. In many ways, the Mapuche history and survival as an indigenous culture, has been defined in resistance to invasion and assimilation. It is fair to say that, in more ways than one, the experience of resistance towards the outsider is an important part of the historical collective memory of the Mapuche people.

Starting in Pre-Columbian times, the Mapuche became one of the few indigenous groups who successfully kept the Inka Empire's expansion to the south at bay. This was followed by the resistance against Spanish colonization, in a war which lasted for almost 200 years, and in which Spain lost import amount of its best soldiers in battle, including the first governor of Chile, Pedro de Valdivia. During the Mapuche uprising of 1881 and the subsequent war (euphemistically called *"Pacificación de la Araucanía")* the Chilean state did not find it any easier to subdue the Mapuche people in order to incorporate them into the nation-state project and appropriate their lands. Today, under democracy and with a socialist government lead by the first woman president, Michelle Bachelet, if there is an area of internal conflict in Chile in which people have been incarcerated and judged under the *Draconian* anti-terrorist laws established by the dictatorship in the 1970's, it is the Mapuche context in the region of the Araucanía.

Doing an ethnographic study of a school and living in a rural Mapuche community did not come easy and was not to be taken for granted. It was definitely not easy for a non-Mapuche *(Winka)*, such as myself, perceived as a privileged, upper-middle class, mainstream Chilean, doing doctoral work at a US university. Although the vast majority of Mapuche people with which I had contact and who befriended me

where very generous and warm (and will remain always dear to my heart), others thought very differently about my presence in their community, and about the role and the rights that a *Winka* ethnographer was entitled to have among them.

I had lived as a journalist and worked with international organizations in several conflict zones in Latin America (Peru, Haiti and Nicaragua), so I knew very clearly that living in a rural isolated Mapuche community in the Araucanía of Chile was far from being in a dangerous place. Nonetheless, certain political tensions, conflicts and unrest in the Mapuche area, were clear signs for caution.

My ethnographic work in the Piedra Alta school was enabled by having previously developed, and later during my field work, a network of contacts with different Mapuche and non-Mapuche intellectuals and teachers associated with state educational agencies, universities, international organizations and NGO's working in IBE program development in rural indigenous communities. Some people within these organizations were sincerely interested in supporting my work and it was their guidance and advice which enabled my field work to take place. I began my first contacts with the school of Piedra Alta during pre-dissertation field work in the summer of 2002, returning to observe the school and live in the community in the Fall of 2003 and part of the Spring of 2004. My direct field observations and research in the school and community of Piedra Alta lasted for 6 months, during which I was in daily direct contact with 2 teachers and two Kimches in the IBE program. My document research activities in universities, research centers and NGO's, plus the networking activities and developing contacts in the cities of Santiago and Temuco (which would enable my field research), lasted for another 6 months.

Critical Etnography

To arrive at a better understanding of how an IBE program currently worked in the school of the Mapuche community of Piedra Alta and how it had an impact on the

ethnic identity construction processes of its Mapuche students, I selected a qualitative critical ethnographic research approach (Foley 2001; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000), which included living in the community near the school and collecting data in the field through participant-observation, open-ended interviews, conversations with key informants, as well as, through establishing collaborative and friendly relations with those studied (Fontana & Frey 2000 pp. 666). I collected data by sustaining formal and informal conversations and in-depth open-ended interviews with school administrators, teachers, parents, students and community leaders. In addition, I drew upon personal experiences and previous contact with the Mapuche people and culture which I, as a Chilean, had previously experienced (Behar, 1993; Coffey, 1999; Foley 2001).

For the school ethnography (Spindler, 1998; Trueba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981), I concentrated my focus on the observation of the *Kimches* as teachers and examined their curriculum and pedagogical practices, as well as, the student-teacher and peer classroom interactions.

Particular attention was given to the incorporation of Mapuche indigenous knowledge by the *Kimches* and the impact this had on the ethnic identity construction processes among Mapuche students (Holland, et al., 1998). I focused on how these bodies of traditional knowledge *(Kumün),* coming from the community, were validated, opposed or blended with the *"official knowledge"* and curriculum of the school (Apple, 2000), creating a counter-narrative to the dominant knowledge and discourse (Giroux & McLaren, 1996). I focused on *Kimün* as a form of previous knowledge coming from the family and community, seen as what Moll et al., (1995) refers to as *"Funds of Knowledge"* which convert classroom instruction into meaningful pedagogical practices (Ladson-Billings, 1995). I also observed patterns of language usage during classroom instruction as code-switching (Jacobson, 2000; Durán 1994) in both Spanish and *Mapudungún* in what Hornberger (1997) defines as "instances of biliteracy" - the points in which two or more languages are used during social interaction. In relation to the language aspects of my research, I was careful to

consider what linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists have warned us about, solely relying on self-reported data and the differences between what people say they do and what they really do in the practice (Course, 2005). As Duranti (1997) argues, meaning is not only found in the minds of people, but in their actions.

In relation to observations in the community, I focused my attention on the traditional Mapuche pedagogical practices at home in the Mapuche family with which I lived and in the community, focusing on religious ceremonies, rituals and celebrations as the main points of cultural and linguistic transmission and reproduction of indigenous knowledge (Díaz-Coliñir, 1998). I also looked into the perceptions that parents, community members and community leaders had about the need and value of IBE programs in the school, as defining points for the possibilities of these programs.

The Research Site

My research site was the Piedra Alta school, located in the *Lof* (group of indigenous communities) of Piedra Alta in the Area of Indigenous Development of Lake Budi. Locate in the district of the Municipio of Puerto Saavedra (Province of Cautín), 60 miles west of Temuco, the capital of the region of the Araucanía, in southern of Chile. I chose this school because it has a 98% Mapuche student population and is located in the ADI-Budi, one of the two Mapuche protected areas of indigenous development in Chile, and the area of highest Mapuche concentration in the country.

The Piedra Alta school developed in the early 1990's a nation-wide reputation by having established a series of successful IBE pilot programs which included the innovative practice of incorporating Mapuche *Kimches* as instructors in their IBE classrooms. During a previous field visit to the school, at my pre-dissertation stage, I had made good contacts with the person that would eventually become the school principal and which, eventually, allowed me to do research at the school. The five

teachers in the school were receptive to my work and the two *Kimches* in the IBE program where open to supporting it. A Mapuche family in the community lodged me in their home, near the school, as well.

Observations of everyday life took place mainly in the school (classroom and school environment), homes of teachers, parents and community members, and of course, in the Mapuche household where I was living, which really became an extraordinary opportunity to observe the interactions of a Mapuche family from a very close angle. I also observed, with great interest, a series of community celebrations as points of indigenous knoweledge, indigenous identity construction and transmission of community knowledge such as, the *Wachipantu* (Mapuche new year´s celebration), *the Nguillatún* (main ancestral Mapuche thanksgiving to their gods), a *Mafün* (wedding), an *Eluwün* (funeral), a *Machitún* (healing ceremony) and other minor rituals and community social interaction, such as sports games of *Palín* (Mapuche field hockey), soccer games and communal agricultural work (*Kelluwün*-planting and *Mingakü*-harvesting).

Participant observation: Focusing on Indigenous knowledge and ethnic identity

As mentioned by Davies (1999), participant observation entails four possible modes; complete observer, observer-as-participant; participant-as-observer or complete participant. I agree with Rabinow (1977) who argues that the degrees of involvement and the positioning of the observer in the field is not a linear one. It is not a process that goes from being an outsider-observer to an insider-participant, but one of shifting positions which take place as the levels of familiarity and the emotional connections of the researcher with the environment increase (Coffey, 1999). But them, Rabinow insists that what governs this dialectical dynamic of the shifting positionings of the researcher is a constant motion towards the starting point, which is that of an observer. According to this, I could see the shifting of my positions between

observation and participation, being guided by intuitions and perceptions of the best moments and contexts in the field to do this or that, but always keeping in mind that as a researcher, it was the position of reflexive observation (Davies, 1999) which really anchored me to the situation. Nevertheless, the need to participate in the observed school and community in order to be reciprocal, create closer bonds and acceptance was clear. So my position shifted in different degrees of involvement from a detached observer with a camera and a note pad in hand to a full participant as a classroom teacher on some occasions.

Gathering data through informal conversations, individual and group open-ended interviews and in-depth conversations (life stories and self-narratives)

During my fieldwork, I used all the above forms of interviews as data gathering devises, and it would not be easy for me to single out to which of them I gave more value. I find them all useful, each responding to a different need and context. But definitely, I gave great value to the informal conversations which I found to be an extremely important source of information, due to their spontaneous and relaxed nature and the easy flow of ideas and perceptions which are collected sometimes in the most unexpected times and places. I always asked very general questions about three general topics: IBE in schooling, indigenous knowledge in the community and Mapuche identity formation among indigenous people and framed the interviews about these topics as conversations (Fontana & Frey, 1993).

I found that in-depth conversations following a more guided pattern and direction towards specific areas of interest also made very important, especially when related to life stories and self-narratives for identity construction. Without trying to discard formal interviews and the natural tension that formality brings, they were also a very valuable means of collecting ethnographic data. The open-ended personal interviews could begin to approach an informal conversation, depending on the

interaction during the interview, but guiding of the conversation through specific questions always added an important route-map to the dialogue. Open-ended group interviews had the added advantages of not only showing the point of view of each person interviewed in the group, but of also of showing group dynamics and group interactions and tensions existing between different positions in the group, which generally mirror the tension existing at a larger community level.

Informal conversations were an important source of information during my whole fieldwork. Through these conversations, I was able to put together a more realistic picture of current affairs and educational issues concerning the Mapuche people in Chile, at all levels (national, regional and local), including the Piedra Alta area. Interacting with Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in all settings (school, communities, bars, restaurants, buses, university research centers, urban and rural settings, etc). The range of people with which I had informal conversations, in a direct of indirect way about my research questions, must have been near the hundred. Including people coming from very diverse backgrounds and place in many different settings which ranged from education authorities, (regional and local), university professors, teachers, parents, Mapuche and non-Mapuche community members, politicians, artists, writers, military, peasants, businessmen, Chilean friends and family, etc. The list is a long one, but definitely informal conversations added much to my perception of the main issues related to my research questions and the current IBE programs in the Mapuche context in Chile.

Constructing identity in life stories and self-narratives

1. Considering the shifting, situational and fragmented nature of ethnic identity construction (Holland et al 1998; Hall 1996; Appiah 1995; Bhabha 1994; García-Canclini 2001; Trueba, 2002), I focused in the role of the *Kimche*, the IBE program instructor as a main transmitter and negotiator of the cultural values and symbols of

the Mapuche culture in the classroom. I was in permanent contact, observed their classroom instruction twice a week and had in-depth conversations and interviews with two Kimches, during important part of the 6 months that I was in the field.

2. In order to best capture the differences in acculturation and processes of identity construction on the Mapuche students in the school, I selected a group of nine students in the highest grades of the school (8^{th}) to have an in-depth portrait of the different ways in which they constructed their identities. I interviewed a random sample of 5 boys and 4 girls through in-depth conversations (Fontana & Frey, 1993; Seidman, 1998), regarding the cultural dimensions of their participation in school IBE program and their self-narratives, as the discursive practices through which identities are constructed (Taylor, 1989; Holland et al, 1998; Vila, 2001) as forms of cultural production (Levinson, Foley & Holland, 1996). I intended to draw a more in-depth profile of this group sample to see how these children negotiated their shifting identities and alliances between their Mapuche, Chilean and Global persona.

3. In light of the importance that current Mapuche programs give to community participation, leadership and empowerment (Diaz-Coliñir 2002, Williamson 2002), I also interviewed a sample of three parents and community members/leaders regarding their perception of IBE programs in their communities (Torres-Guzmán, 1988; Krashen, 1996). In all interviews, I kept in mind the possibilities of historical alternative reconstructions that come out of oral testimonies and narratives of self (Menchaca, 1995; Vansina, 1985). In addition, I also kept in mind the evaluation of how the active participation of Mapuche community members adds to the creation of a more linguistically and culturally authentic intercultural bilingual school (Cummins, 2001; Ovando & Collier, 1997) and more culturally relevant forms of instruction (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Collection and analysis of documents

I collected and analyzed diverse publications and documents related to IBE in the Mapuche context, indigenous education, Mapuche indigenous knowledge *(Kimün), Mapudungún* language and Mapuche identity construction, published by various sources, including universities, research centers, international development organizations, NGO's, state and church educational agencies, and the Piedra Alta school.

The Ministry of Education's Office of IBE in Santiago was the main source of the few official textbooks and audiovisual materials on IBE in the Mapuche contexts that are produced in Chile, and which were available in the country. These books and instructional resources were more for teacher-training in the IBE Mapuche context, than textbooks for students to be used in the classroom. As mentioned before there is neither a curriculum nor a set of standards that have been established by the Ministry of Education, for IBE programs and courses.

The *Instituto de Estudios Indígenas* of the *Universidad de la Frontera (UFRO)* in Temuco was another important source of materials for Mapuche studies. Nevertheless this research center is supposed to have the largest amount of data concerning Mapuche studies in the country, again, I saw no textbooks for Mapuche IBE students in schools and really not as much as I expected for IBE in the Mapuche context in general. In terms of indigenous knowledge *(Kimün),* there was more material concerning the medical-herbal and botanical knowledge of the *Machi* (Shaman) than concerning Mapuche knowledge construction and traditional pedagogical practices. The link between Mapuche indigenous knowledge *(Kimün)* and education is a subject matter which has not been developed very clearly in educational publications, concerning the Mapuche context.

The *Universidad Católica de Temuco* and the *Universidad Católica de Villarica* who have IBE courses in the Mapuche context in their teacher education

programs, also had some material about IBE in the Mapuche context, but it was not more significant than what the *Universidad Academia Humanismo Cristiano* (Santiago) and the *Universidad Metropolitana de Santiago* had regarding Mapuche urban identity construction, which really did not go much beyond a number of graduate thesis.

It was only through a Mapuche scholar, María Díaz-Coliñir, affiliated at that time with the *Universidad de Chile* in Santiago, with whom I was able to elaborate a framework of traditional Mapuche knowledge construction and pedagogical practices (see Chap.5) and obtain a copy of instructional classroom materials that she had developed and collected as an IBE teacher and researcher in the Mapuche context. She is the only Mapuche scholar working in the field of Mapuche indigenous knowledge linked to IBE education and unfortunately she as not yet publish much about her work. Although her book *"Historia del Pueblo Mapuche: Escuelas del Area Budi, Truftruf, Lumako"* (1998) co-authored with Pablo Marimán and Domingo Carilao, is the closest thing to a curriculum guide for IBE instruction in the Mapuche context incorporating Indigenous knowledge, that I found.

Audio-visual recording of events

Although, I am fully aware that photography and film, in its apparent authentic representation of what actually happens, is a contested notion (Evans & Hall, 1999; MacDougall, 1995; Collier, 1987; Sontag, 1978; Barthes, 1964), and the capacity that visual media has to construct meanings and representation in an "unapparent and objective way" is not an unproblematic issue within the field of visual ethnography (Deveroux, 1995, Bourdieu 1965; Evans & Hall, 1999), I used film and still photography as an important part of my data gathering resources and as an complementary visual aid to my research.

In this sense, I firmly agree with the Chinese saying that “a picture tells a thousand words” and that audio-visual material is a great complement that largely enhances the written narration. Besides, it is clear to me that when doing ethnographic work in cultures which are based mainly in oral traditions, the audiovisual recording media becomes an extraordinarily valuable devise to capture directly and without intermediate representations, the whole richness of the cultural production taking place in the field. To write a description about the sounds of an instrument is a very different thing than to listen to it. In that sense, I think that written ethnographies for mainly oral cultures have to be backed up with audiovisual materials. It has always been a mystery to me why current ethnography, specially the one related to oral cultures as remained mainly as a written record. During my research, I used audiovisual recording devises such as film, still photography, and sound recording adding up to 50 hours of recorded materials.

The reactions that I encountered to the camera (photo or film) went from open and hostile rejection, to indifference or curiosity, or to a comfortable and amusing acceptance. I found a positive reception to audiovisual devices when people liked to see themselves portrayed on film after the event, or especially when wanting their stories to be heard by a larger audience. By the same token, people reacted very negatively when not wanting to be portrayed in a certain situation or not obtaining a monetary compensation demanded for their possing.

During my research in the field, there where clearly occasions to be involved and participate having an audio-visual recording device in hand and other times to stand by, observe and keep the camera in the bag. In this sense, motion-film and still photography cameras helped me to be placed immediately by others and myself as an observer. For me, it has always been interesting to experience how a camera in hand gives an immediate license and justifies the position of the holder as an observer/recorder of the event. It gives social license to move freely from participant-involved in a social situation to an observer-recorder detached from that situation. I

have always thought of the social license that the camera gives to become an observer as something socially expected which gives license of movement which are not given to regular participants generally placed in hierarchical ceremonial orders.

Film, still photography and tape recorders for interviews were my first choices and the media that I used the most. The timing and the feeling of the place gave me the sense of what audiovisual equipment to use, if any.

Language barriers during field work

Of course that having a limited understanding of the *Mapudungún* language was something that did not help. But, considering the high levels of assimilation that the Mapuche people already have, and that the main language used in the school and the community was Spanish, I cannot say that during my field research I encountered a "language problem". Interestingly enough, I was surprised to see that during IBE classes, very few *Mapudungún* was used by the *Kimches* and students who in the vast majority defined themselves as speakers of Spanish as their first language. Although, I took some courses in *Mapudungún* during my stay in Santiago, Temuco and with the Mapuche family with which I was living in Piedra Alta, I was never in need of hiring a translator for communicating with people in the community nor in the school, which used the Spanish language for daily affairs and interactions. I was also very amazed of how few *Mapudungún* was used in the household where I lived, where only the parents where fluent in it, and did not use it very much, while their 5 children had only a limited command of it.

Reflexive ethnography: Winka-tregua, an outsider in a Mapuche community

I would say that one of the main difficulty that I encountered during my research works was my position of Non-Mapuche-outsider in a situation of current

deterioration of relations between the Chilean state/government and the Mapuche people in the urban and rural spaces. Although the Mapuche-Chilean relationship has never been a happy one, the current political environment in the ancestral area of the Araucanía, has considerably deteriorated in the last years, including the time of my field research. I cannot say that I was subject to open acts of hostility, but neither can I say that I felt tremendously welcomed everywhere.

The Mapuche dictionary of 1883 of Moschbaker defines the word *Winka* as foreigner and when used as the verb *Winkün*, means to steal/usurp. The word *Tregua* means dog. Although, the most common denomination of outsiders is *Winka*, it is also frequently accompanied by the word *Tregua*. So, to summarize this point in a blunt statement, I would say that Mapuche people in general have never welcomed *Winkas* and their degree of resistance has been historically very high towards outsiders. Today, under a heavy amount of frustration, the situation has not become easier. I cannot say that I was ever subject to acts of intimidation, but there where a couple of occasions in which I became in need to diffuse tensions. In relation to a minor situation, I was quite amassed one day when during a visit of courtesy to a school located in a neighboring *Lof* (several communities) in the area of the ADI-Budi, a Mapuche teacher with whom I had no previous contact, informed me how he and other teachers had decided to set my research agenda in a very different direction in which I was going about it, to which he mentioned a plan to put me to work in an issue related with the latest educational reform linked in some way with his graduate courses. Up to this day, I do not know what he had in mind with such a proposal which made no sense to me, but certainly, I did not change my research in any direction and never saw him again.

Of course that I stirred far away from telling my Mapuche acquaintances in the community of Piedra Alta that I was the son of a former army general, commander in chief of the Chilean cavalry for some years, who had commanded a regiment in the Araucanía when I was a child. After all, I had already a handful of

explaining to do in establishing that I had no oil millionaire friends in Texas, nor was I a CIA agent at the service of the Bush administration, nor a policeman taking notes about illegal activities in the Lake Budi, nor a Fidel Castro's communist agent trying to promote the Mapuche armed insurrection in a Chiapas style. One day that Raul Painemilla, the head of the Mapuche family where I was staying told me in a very cunning way that he had done his military service in a regiment of cavalry in the Araucanía, in which the commander was a Colonel Ortiz, I decided not to pursue the subject matter further, because probably the person to which he was referring was surely not my grandfather, nor my father, but could probably had been my youngest uncle.

These situations of profound mistrust towards outsiders and high political intensity made me reflect much upon the theories held by some anthropologists that proclaim ethnography as activism. I wonder how can anybody do political activism during their research in an environment of high-tension without getting in deep trouble with any of the antagonistic factions that exist within highly charged political environments in the field. What was said in Piedra Alta about a Belgium anthropologist who had participated in the seizure of the Mayor's office of the town of *Puerto Saavedra* done by a group of Mapuche leaders in protest against current indigenous government policies (which eventually became a high profile media event during the time that I was there), was that the Chilean government had revoked her visa within 24 hours of the crisis, giving her with this, an abrupt end to her ethnographic activism and research. To which some added that she had been very lucky that this situation had not happened during the times of the dictatorship.

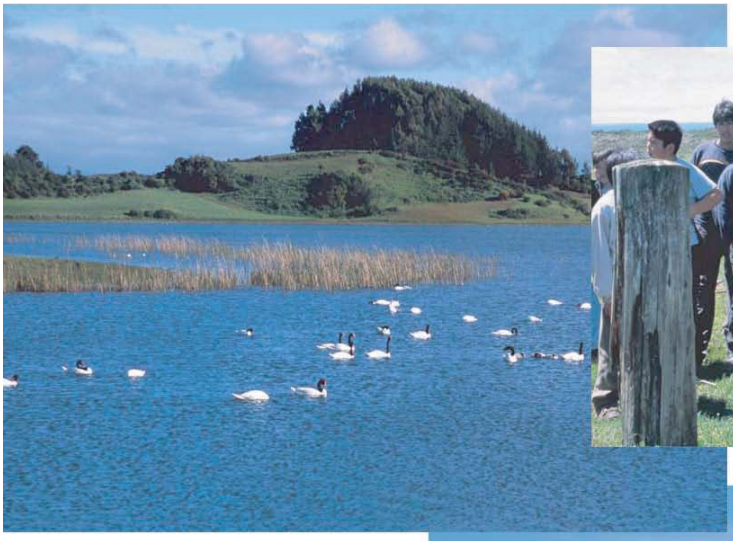
Appendix 2: Maps and Graphics

Chilean Mapuche groups during the XIX Century
Bengoa, 1985

Rivers: Bio-Bio northern border
Tolten southern border

(Map 5)


Territorio Mapuche (Siglo XVI)
Santiago
Mendoza
Rio Maule
Chile
Argentina
Buenos Aires
La Pampa
Traiguén
Temuko
Neukén
Fiske Menuko (gral. roka...)
Kechu Kawin
Oceano Pacifico
Los Pellines
Oceano Atlantico
Rio Negro
Anekón Chico
Carrilauken Grande
Viedma
Furilofche
Huahuel Niyeu (jacobacci)
El Bolsón
Isla de Chiloe
Eskel
José de San Martín
The ancestral WallMapu
Area of Mapuche influence
in the XVI Century

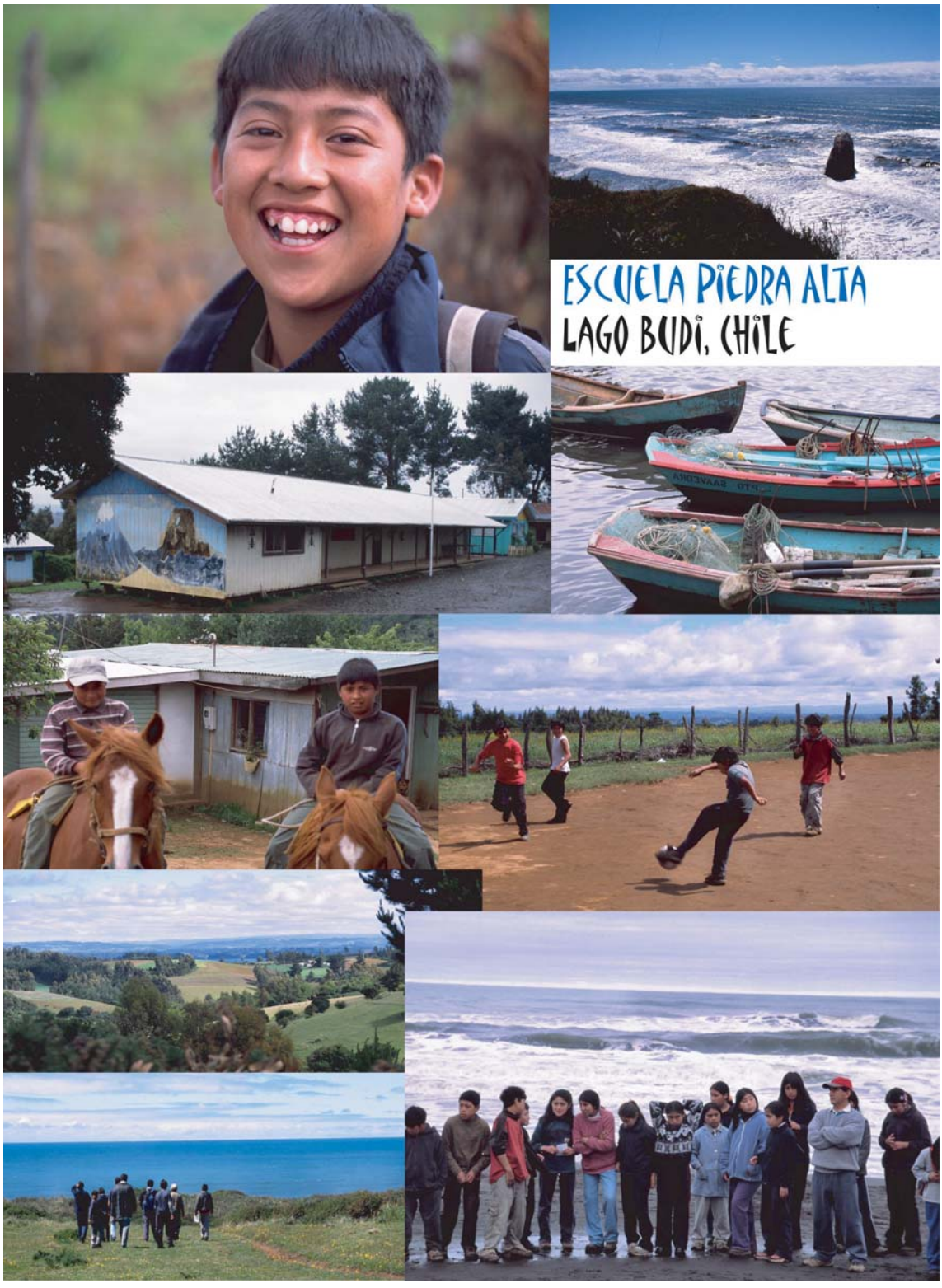


Escuela de Piedra Alta

Area de Desarrollo
Indigena
del Lago Budi

Comunidades Mapuche-Lafkenches

Region de la Araucania,
Chile


ESCUELA PIEDRA ALTA
LAGO BUDI, CHILE

Appendix 3: Interview guides

1. Interview to parents and community members

<u>Preguntas a Apoderados/Comunidad</u>

¿Le gusta que hayan programas de EIB en la escuela?

¿Crees que los programas de EIB son buenos o debería ser de otra manera? ¿Qué cambios propondrías tú?

¿Le gustaría que en la escuela se enseñara el Mapudungún o preferiría que sus hijos(as) aprendieran otra lengua, tal como el inglés o el francés?

¿En términos de la educación de tus hijos, que es lo más importante que esperas que la escuela les entregue?

¿Cuáles son los aspectos (las cosas) que más le gustan de la escuela?

¿Tienes una buena relación con los profesores de tus hijos(as)?

¿Crees que en la escuela tratan bien a los padres y apoderados?

¿Cuáles son los aspectos (las cosas) que menos le gustan de la escuela?

¿Crees que la educación ha cambiado mucho desde que tu eras estudiante?

¿Usted le enseña las tradiciones Mapuches (Historia y lengua Mapuche) a sus hijos?

¿Crees que tradiciones rituales y lingüísticas como el Gnütram, Ngülam, Pentukún, Chalín, Ngüillatún, Machitún o Palín deberían ser enseñados en la escuela o son temas que corresponden al ámbito de la familia y comunidad?

¿Le parece importante que sus hijos mantengan las tradiciones y la identidad Mapuche?

¿Que parte de la enseñanza de estas tradiciones e identidad, usted cree que le corresponde ser enseñadas por la escuela y que partes deberían ser enseñadas por la familia y la comunidad?

¿Crees que la juventud de hoy es muy diferente a la de su época?

¿En que sentido le parece mejor y en que sentido peor?

¿Cómo ves el futuro de tus hijos(as)?

¿Cómo ves el futuro de la cultura Mapuche?

2. Interview to teachers and Kimches

<u>Preguntas a los Profesores-Administradores</u>

¿ Estás de acuerdo con la existencia de un programa de EIB en tu escuela y porqué?

¿Crees que la mayoría de los apoderados y de la comunidad Mapuche está interesada en que existan programas de EIB en la escuela?

¿Crees que la mayoría de los apoderados y de la comunidad Mapuche están interesados en que se les enseñe Mapudungun e historia Mapuche a los niños en la escuela?

¿Tu crees que existe alguna forma de creación de conocimientos tradicionales Mapuche (Kimün) y transmisión (pedagogía) Mapuche que se da a nivel de la comunidad?

¿Quienes crees que son los agentes educativos tradicionales a nivel de la comunidad?

¿Tu crees que el Kimün, debería ser incorporado a los programas de EIB en la escuela y porqué?

¿Crees que el Mapudungun debería ser enseñado en tu escuela como una asignatura independiente o te parece que es un tema para el ámbito de la casa y comunidad?

¿Crees que tradiciones rituales y lingüísticas como el Gnütram, Ngülam, Pentukún, Chalín, Ngüillatún, Machitún o Palín deberían ser enseñados en la escuela o son temas que corresponden al ámbito de la familia y comuunidad?

¿Tu crees que la forma en que actualmente los programas de EIB están estructurados y se llevan a la práctica, es la mejor manera? Qué cambios harías tú?

¿Qué opinas de la relación histórica que la sociedad y cultura chilena han tenido respecto a la étnia Mapuche?

¿ Cómo crees que son las relaciones inter-étnicas entre Mapuches y no Mapuches en esta zona del lago Budi?

¿ Qué rol crees que te corresponde a tí como profesor(a) en esta historia?

¿Hablas, escribes y entiendes el Mapudungún y a que nivel?¿Cómo y cuándo lo aprendistes?

¿Ves posibles ventajas podría presentar una mayor preocupación, respeto y valoración de las personas y culturas indígenas por parte de la sociedad y el estado chileno, especificamente en el área educacional?

¿Tu crees que existe discriminación en Chile por parte de los No-Mapuches respecto a la gente y cultura Mapuche?

¿ Tu crees que existe discriminación en Chile por parte de los Mapuches respecto a la gente y cultura No-Mapuche?

¿Te consideras una persona conocedora de la cultura Mapuche?

¿Cuáles son los puntos de la cultura Mapuche que a tí más te gustan y consideras de mayor valor?

¿Cuales son los puntos de la cultura Mapuche que a tí más te disgustan y consideras menos valiosos?

¿Crees que sería una buena idea si hubiera escuelas sólo para indígenas
¿crees que los estudiantes aprenderían más y mejor
¿Se solucionaríacon esto el problema de la discriminación?

¿El estar trabajando en una escuela con mayoría de población estudiantil Mapuche fue por elección tuya o fue una situación que te tocó enfrentar por casualidad?

¿Cuántos cursos en EIB tienes en tu formación académica?

¿Participas en actividades comunitarias fuera de la escuela con pades y apoderados?

¿Tienes una relación cercana con los padres y apoderados de tus estudiantes?

¿Porqué que crees que existen las diferencias sociales y económicas entre las personas?

¿Porqué que crees que existen las diferencias de ideas (religiosas, políticas, etc) entre las personas?

¿Porqué es bueno que en la escuela Piedra Alta exista la preocupación sobre la comprensióm, respeto y valorización de las personas y culturas indígenas?

¿Cual es tu filosofía respecto a la educación y tu trabajo pedagogíco?

¿Crees que la educación ha cambiado mucho desde que tu eras estudiante?

¿Crees que la juventud de hoy es muy diferente a la de tu época?

¿En que sentido te parece mejor y en que sentido peor?

Yo creo que históricamente la escuela ha tenido un rol de reproducir e inculcar ciertas formas culturales dominantes las cuales han desvalorizado y negado aspectos importantes de las culturas indígenas ¿Crees que esto ha cambiando y en que manera?

¿Crees que estamos frente a nuevas formas de pedagogía o en verdad detrás de una aparente sensibilidad al tema de la cultura indígena, se mantienen las antiguas formas de dominación?

¿Además del conocimiento académico, cual es el consejo que le das a tus estudiantes?

Parte adicional para los Kimches

¿Te consideras un vínculo importante entre el conocimiento de la comunidad y el de la escuela?

¿Cómo ves tu trabajo en la sala de clases? ¿Te parece importante la transmisión de conocimientos Mapuches (Kimün) a tus alumnos?

¿Cómo te orientas para tu trabajo pedagógico? ¿haz tenido algún curso de capacitación en términos de enseñanza?¿Existe algún curriculum o programa de objetivos establecidos?

¿Cómo es tu relación con los profesores regulares, es buena y les interesa el tema del conocimiento indígena o se sienten que su espacio está siendo inavadido ypreferirían que existiera otra cosa?

¿Cómo fuistes seleccionado para ser Kimche en la escuela?

¿Crees que los programas de EIB son buenos o debería ser de otra manera? ¿Qué cambios propondrías tú?

¿Cómo ves el futuro de tus estudiantes?

¿Cómo ves el futuro de la cultura Mapuche?

3. Interview to students in Piedra Alta

<u>Preguntas a estudiantes sobre identidad Mapuche</u>

¿Cómo te llamas?

¿Qué edad tienes?

¿En qué curso estás?

¿Te identificas como Mapuche?

¿Qué significa para tí ser un joven Mapuche y vivir en la zona del Lago Budi?

¿Qué significa para tí ser un joven no-Mapuche en una escuela mayoritariamente Mapuche?

¿Hablas Mapudungún?

¿Escribes Mapudungún?

¿Entiendes el Mapudungún

¿Con quién lo aprendistes y con quien lo practicas más seguido?

¿Dónde lo practicas más seguido?

¿En qué grupo económico te defines?

¿Te sientes orgulloso de las tradiciones Mapuches o aveces te aburren un poco?

Yo he visto que hay alguna gente joven Mapuche que durante las ceremonias Mapuches prestan muy poco atención a lo que está pasando, inclusive se burlan y se

ve que el tema Mapuche no les interesa mucho...¿te ha tocado ver esa situacion y por que crees que eso pasa (cual es la razón)?

¿Sientes que tienes una forma de identidad doble (Chilena /Mapuche) o crees y preferirías tener sólo una de ellas?

¿El estudiar sobre la cultura Mapuche en la escuela te ha reafirmado tu sentido de ser Mapuche o el tema te aburre?

¿Tu crees que es bueno que haya programas de EIB que integran el conocimiento indígena (Mapuche Kimün tradicional) a los programas educacionales en la escuela?

¿Te gustan los prograams de EIB en la escuela y que es lo que te gustan de esos programas?

¿Tu crees que el Mapudungun debería ser enseñado en la escuela o es un tema para la casa y la comunidad?

¿Qué efecto ha tenido para tí el aprender en la escuela sobre las tradiciones Mapuches? ¿Te ha parecido bueno o preferirías haber aprendidio sobre otras cosas, tales como inglés o historia universal?

Preguntas sobre migraciónes

¿Una vez que salgas de 8 grado donde vas a ir a continuar tu escuela?

¿Después de 4 medio que piensas hacer?

¿Porque la mayoría de la gente del Lago Budi generalmente imigra a otra parte?

¿Después de terminar tus estudios, piensas regresar al Lago Budi o piensas ir a otra parte?

¿Tu crees que los Mapuches que imigran a la ciuda se convierten en personas muy diferentes a los que se quedan en el campo...¿por qué?

¿Tus amigos son en su mayoría winkas o Mapuches?

¿Creés que hay una diferenciacion muy grande y marcada entre los roles de las mujeres y de los hombres en la cultura Mapuche?...te parece que hay machismo en la cultura Mapuche?

¿Qué significado tienen las costumbres y creencias del pueblo mapuche, para un joven mapuche como tú, que vive en el Lago Budi?

¿Qué significado tiene ser un joven mapuche, si te comparas con otros jóvenes?

¿Cómo evaluas la educación que ofrece el sistema escolar a los jóvenes mapuches?

¿Cómo evaluas las oportunidades de participación política del joven mapuche en el Lago Budi?

¿Cómo evaluas las oportunidades de trabajo de los jóvenes mapuche en el Lago Budi?

¿Cómo evaluas las oportunidades de desarrollo económico personal de los jóvenes mapuche en el área del Lago Budi?

¿Cómo evaluas las oportunidades de participar en la vida cultural del país, que tienen los jóvenes mapuches en en el Lago Budi?

¿Cuál crees que es la visión que tiene la sociedad chilena en general, respecto de los jóvenes mapuches?

¿Cómo evaluas las organizaciones (políticas/culturales) Mapuche, desde el punto de vista de los intereses y necesidades de los jóvenes Mapuches?

¿Crees que los jovenes mapuche deben integrarse o diferenciarse al interior de la sociedad chilena?

¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de ser Mapuche?

¿Qué es lo que menos te gusta de ser Mapuche?

¿Cómo ves las relaciones humanas entre los Mapuches y no Mapuches?

¿Tú crees que los Mapuches son discriminados por los no-Mapuches?

¿Tú crees que los Mapuches discriminan contra los no-Mapuches?

¿Cómo imaginas el futuro del pueblo Mapuche?

¿Cómo imaginas tu futuro?

Notes

Chapter 1

(1) *Kimches are the men and woman of wisdom and knowledge in the traditional Mapuche culture.*

(2) *Nguillatún is the main Mapuche religious celebration which consists in an elaborate ceremony of thanksgiving to the main deity Gnechen*

(3) *Kimün is Mapuhe indigenous Knowledge*

(4) *Mapudungún is the Mapuche language*

(5) The Escuela Básica de Piedra Alta has courses from 1st to 8th grades (equivalent in the US to an elementary school plus two years of middle school). This "Ciclo Básico" (1-8 grades) is sub-divided into two cycles (1-4 and 5-8). The schools in the indigenous communities, including the ADI-Budi do not have beyond the Ciclo de Educación Básica (1th to 8th grade), so Mapuche students interested in going to middle and high school (Educación Media, 9th to 12th) are forced to migrate to an urban center. Being the high school of Puerto Saavedra the closest one in the area.

(6) *Winka* in *Mapudungún* means foreigner/other and some suggest it comes from the early pre-Colombian times in which the Mapuche where battling the the Inka's expansion to the south, in their northern border, the Maule river. Winka is used for ll outsiders and it is very common to see how defining their identity, Mapuche people use very frequently the word *Awinkado* (to indicate a Mapuche with high levels of assimilation) and *Amapuchado* (to indicate a Mapuche resistant to the mainstream Chilean culture).

Chapter 2

(1) It is important to mention the big differences between the numbers of the 1992 census, which estimates the total indigenous population of the country in approximately 1.000.000 people, versus the 2002 census, which estimates the same population in only almost 700.000. The self-defined category of indigenous person, which goes in accordance with the Indigenous Law of 1993 approved after the census of 1992, might have had a relation to the important reduction of indigenous population indicated between the 1992 and the 2002 (Hernández, 2003). The significant reduction in numbers established in the last census created an important controversy among

some Mapuche leaders, concerning the accuracy of the latest measurement. But on the other hand, the results of the 2002 census, have been accepted and validated on a wide spread basis. Although, the demographic statistics for indigenous people in Chile have never been a major concern of the governments, historically there has been some measurements done in relation to this population. Cayún (1991) indicates at the time of the Independence as shown in the census of 1813, there were 48,000 Mapuche in Chile's central region. From 1830 onward, this population ceased to be counted in subsequent census as a specific category. Before the 1992 census, which disaggregated the population by ethnicity for the first time in many years, no consensus on the size of the Mapuche population existed and there were only estimates about it. According to the 1970 census, it was deduced that the Mapuche population was near half of a million people (Berdichewsky, 1977). Based on a 1982 census, the rural Mapuche population could be estimated at 300,000 while the total population, could be approximately 400,000 (Bengoa and Valenzuela, 1983). According to Hernández (1985), the Mapuche constituted slightly less than six percent of the total population of the country. Orellana (2002) before the census of that year, had challenged as exaggerated the results of the previous census of 1992, arguing that the total indigenous population of the country at that time was not near the 1.000.000 as established by the 1992 census, but it approximated only the 700.000 habitants. Estimate, which proved to be very similar to the results of the last census of 2002.

(2) The *Reservation System* in Chile was called *Reducciones Indígenas* (indigenous reductions) established in 1883 after the war of the *Pacificación de la Araucanía* in which the Chilean state reduces the Mapuche to confine geographical areas. Within these *Reducciones*, a total of 3,000 communities are formed based on patrilinear lines of descent.

(3) It is also important to mention that the word Rewue in *Mapudungún* does not only have a political-geographical organizational connotation, it is also the religious main "Altar". The Rewue is the central altar and the main symbolic totem of the Mapuche religio, around which the main Mapuche religious ceremonies, such as the Nguillatún and the Machitún, are centered upon. So, the denomination Rewue has a double connotation; on the one hand it gives name to the geographical and physical location used by a number of communities within a number of Lofs and on the other, it also refers to the main altar of the Mapuche religion. So, the usage of the same word for both concepts clearly indicates that the traditional political and geographical organization of the Mapuche communities besides their patrilineal descent lines in common, also had an important religious link between them (Marileo, 1995).

(4) A book of poems called *"La Araucana"* published in 1550 by Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga has been considered a classical chronicle of the Spanish War of Arauco (1540-1656) and a sample of epic Spanish colonial poetry that exalts the qualities of the

Mapuche people and culture. The historical and ethnographic value of this work and of the book "Cautiverio Feliz" published in 1680 by Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, who lived several years among the Mapuche after being captured in battle, are very important historical documents for understanding the Mapuche culture at the early Spanish colonial contact. Other important Spanish chroniclers of the Mapuche, include Jerónimo de Vivar (1524), Gonzalo de Najera (1605), Góngora Marmolejo (1578), Mariño de Lobera (1570) and Pedro de Oña who wrote in 1605 *"Arauco Domado"*. Also the writings of the Jesuits, Diego de Rosales (1630) and Alonso de Ovalle (1646), are other important historical and ethnographic documents of early colonial times.

(5) Until 2005, Isabel Hernández was the Director of the Office for Indigenous Bilingual Literacy and Health Education programs for the United Nation's Economic Commission of Latin America (CEPAL). An anthropologist with an extensive experience in the field of indigenous studies and development, her program worked with more than 10 major indigenous groups in more than 8 countries in Latin America. Her recent book "Autonomía o Ciudadanía Incompleta: Identidad e Historia del Pueblo Mapuche en Chile y Argentina" (2004), is an enlightning contribution to the understanding of the current situation of the Mapuche people living at both sides of the borders of Chile and Argentina.

Chapter 3

(1) *Propuesta Mapuche Lafkenche* is an important document in relation with the current ethnic and political territorial identity re-construction process and agenda of socio-political demands of the Mapuche Lafkenches people in the ADI-Budi. This proposal is to be seen in the 1999's *Declaración de Tirúa* also called the *Propuesta Mapuche Lafkenche de Chile: De la Deuda Histórica Nacional al reconocimiento de nuestros derechos territorriales*.

(2) For Mapuche Ethno-Botany and Machi (shaman) healing and herbalist practices, see Bacigalupo (2001) and Gumucio (1999).

Chapter 4

(1) Guillermo Williamson was the director of the Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education of the Ministry of Education of Chile (MINEDUC) From 1996 to 2004. His office in the MINEDUC is the state agency responsible for the development and coordination of IBE programs implemented among the 8 indigenous groups in Chile.

Chapter 5

(1) According to Segundo Quintrikeo from the program of IBE of the Catholic University of Temuco, one of the most important problems that their teacher trainning program has encountered through the years has been the difficulty in finding Mapuche prospective teachers that have a good command of the *Mapudungún* language.

(2) Nicanor Painemilla, principal of the school in the neighboring locality of *Puaucho* wich has an important amount of Mapuche people which are practicing Evangelicals, informed me that he had not been able to establish courses of *Mapudungún* language in his school, due to the intense parental opposition to the idea.

Chapter 6

(1) In Chile the *Educación Básica*, is followed by the *Educación Media*, with four additional grades (1-4) required for completion of high school. Secondary education ends after 12 years of schooling.

(2) The Mapudungún language having 7 different dialectical areas has been transcribed into 4 different alphabets in its written format, of which the *Unificado* is one of the most commonly used and the *Ranguileo* the preferred among educators (See Chap.5).

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